

121 /4 cont./topic. The kinship terminology served as a starting point for this purpose.

/5/ Choice of Working Area

123 The stranger who intends to carry out an "adat investigation"
631 in South Celebes -- and all ethnological investigations, those
565 concerned with adat law as well as sociological and similar
investigations, are so termed by the Makassarese and the Buginese
themselves -- first comes in contact with the prince of the
province /Landschap/ or with the head of the adat community
where he wishes to work. One may not bypass the prince and
his kin group /familie/, the nobility, at least not without in-
curring great difficulties later on. For the consequence of
failing to obtain his consent to work in a certain kampong in his
domain is that one loses the much needed good will of a large
part of his subjects who might otherwise become good informants.
Ignoring him is more than just discourtesy; it is an action which,
from the point of view of the prince, expresses hostility. A
highly placed stranger -- and that, after all, includes every
investigator -- is a potential center of power to whom those
who might be less favorably inclined toward the prince might
be drawn and thereby constitutes a danger for the latter.

123 Adat investigation among ordinary kampong people is further
565 suspect because, according to the prince and his kinsmen, the
671 little man has no adat, just as, according to the Dutch bourgeoisie
of half a century ago, the people had no manners. For a man
of the nobility, adat is just that which distinguishes him from
the people; his adat is the real one.

123 Here at the same time the danger that threatens one who
would begin an investigation with the nobility becomes apparent.
He loses the opportunity to obtain an insight into the relation-
ship between high and low, as seen from the standpoint of the
latter. Only after I had expressly declared that it was precisely
[121] the adat of the common people that I wished to study, because
Mr. Friedericy had already described that of the prince, was it
agreed that I should live elsewhere.

62 /15 cont./ Kampong Bontoramba has approximately
[161] 800 residents. There one finds one of the two public schools
[368] which the entire adat community of more than 14, 000 individuals boasts. Along the large road a bicycle repair shop has arisen, and there are more coffee warong /shops/ than in many other places. A large group of Buginese, attracted by a great deal of fallow land and good transportation facilities, has built its houses there in the course of the last 20 years. 166 The Makassarese who live there at present arrived no more than 60 years ago. Coming and going never takes place en masse in Makassarese country. In successive stages a pioneer receives more members of his kin group in his house; by successive stages other people move away.

[554] A certain period of settlement by a large group is /16/
● 565 noted mostly when a man of high nobility moves and many follow him. Formerly, in periods of insecurity for the individual, this was probably a more usual manner of migration, but today it no longer is. Thus, around 1900, a large number of kinsmen coming from kampong Pakatto, situated eight kilometers further up the road, settled in Bontoramba. As kinsmen [621] /familiele den/ constituting a part of the same related group /ver wantengroep/ they organized themselves anew in Bontoramba and adjusted to the new circumstances, at the same time striving for the realization of the usual Makassarese ideals. To this end, they followed the old Makassarese adat.

The Bilateral Related Group

612 The Makassarese related group /ver wantengroep/ should
621 be described as a bilateral endogamous group of relatives (1)

1. Kin relationship is indicated by the term sibidja or sipamanakkang.

whose members worship their ancestors (pattautoaang) at the places and times designated, and at the same time as a group

582 /24 cont./ likewise contracted without any definite preference for one of these marriages being apparent.

582 Knowledge of kinship relationships does not go beyond the
602 eighth- and ninth-degree kinsmen. Relatives further removed are "distant" (bella). If in rare cases people speak of a marriage between sampopingappa (tenth-degree male and female cousins; children of sampopintallung), one will probably hear the opinion expressed that this is an undesirable marriage. Others, however, do not seem to be aware of this.

Among the marriages contracted between sampopintallung (eighth-degree kinsmen), there probably also exist marriages of sampopingappa (tenth degree) or of kamanakang sampopintallung (ninth degree, thus, not members of the same generation). In such cases people are not certain any more about the exact relationships. Statements contradict each other, and in such cases of uncertainty there is a tendency to settle on that kin relationship which one regards as the proper and normal one for a marriage between kinsmen as the correct one.

The most common marriage is, therefore, the marriage between sampopinruang and sampopintallung (respectively, sixth- and eighth-degree male and female cousins) who at the same time are members of the same generation. Of all other marriages it is said that they are unfavorable or unlucky, or else that they are forbidden. In the nobiliary related group [565] there is a tendency to shift to samposikali and sampopinruang (the fourth- and sixth-degree male and female cousins respectively).

The Family

593 Two functions of the family /gezin/ will be discussed here.

The father officially occupies a predominant place in the family. The relationship to his sons is based upon the notion that he is in command and that it is impolite to contradict him (1). /25/ A son is supposed to know what is fitting, by

158 /56 cont./ According to reports, adults are also subject
626 to such attacks, however, I never witnessed this. To be sure,
an adult sometimes uses it as a threat, for instance, when he
(she) has set his (her) mind on something that seems unattain-
able. A woman from Macassar who had caused a drum
(ganrang) to be played at a festival of her kin group in Goa
was questioned about this by the kapalakampong /kampong
[533 head/ concerned, since playing the ganrang is a prerogative
● 565] of the nobility in Goa. She threatened with adjallo' if the use
of the drum should be forbidden her, and finally a decision
was made that the drum could be played because she did not
live in Goa and at home in Macassar she was allowed to play
the ganrang.

In Macassar a girl who was sixteen years old and still at
school threatened adjallo' because she wanted to continue attend-
ing school in spite of obvious disapproval on the part of her
mother and aunts. A man arranged his second marriage behind
the back of his first wife because, as he said, he was afraid
that she would adjallo' and in so doing might well prevent his
second marriage if she heard about it beforehand.

The reaction of others to such fits of temper was one of
aversion. People turned away; no one made an attempt to
help, nor did anyone appear angry. It was believed that
nothing could be done about it.

158 Both phenomena, mobility and adjallo', in my opinion
578 should be regarded as expressions of a conflict for which the
individual sees no other solution, a conflict which is based on
personality structure. It was impossible for me to do any further
investigation along these lines. The fact that both sexes
participate in mobility to the same extent might suggest the
/57/ necessity for an analysis of the "basic personality structure"
/cited in English/ (1) of the Makassarese.

1. For this term see A. Kardiner,
most recently in The Psychological
Frontiers of Society, New York, 1945.

644 /77 cont. / 1. Ibid.

778 descent would dominate completely, and that is not the case.
182

An ornament is supposed to be in the hands of the group member with the purest blood and the best personal qualities. The individual who has the ornament in his possession is therefore believed to have these qualities until it turns out to be otherwise.

One who shows that he possesses the best personal qualities is therefore, according to the Makassarese idea, of high blood.

A prince is regarded as possessing these personal qualities to the greatest degree. However, they do not always find expression.

182 An ornament strengthens the unity of the group. At the same time it furthers the continuity of this unity. But a breakthrough on the basis of personal qualities must always be considered a possibility, in the light of what has been said above.

/78/

Chapter II

Social Status

114 In the ethnological literature Makassarese-Buginese society
565 is known as a hierarchical society. Friedericy (1) decided

1. H. J. Friedericy,
"De standen bij de
Boeginezen en Makassaren, "
Bijdragen tot de Taal-,
Land- en Volkenkunde van
Nederlands-Indië, 1933,
Part 90, Vol. 4, p. 582.

114 /78 cont./ upon a division into two classes /standen/, the
565 nobility and the people. In addition he reported the existence of intermediary classes, that of headmen and slaves. The groups of relatives from which this society is constructed remain in the background with Friedericy. Proceeding from what is already known here, the relationship of kinship and class will first be indicated at this point. A few introductory comments will precede this.

635 All Makassarese-Buginese land, as has been mentioned,
565 is divided into provinces. The prince who stands at the head of a province belongs to a bilateral group of relatives which constitutes a class /stand/ apart, the nobility. The members of this group are called karaeng. They primarily live together in a few kampongs bordering on each other and constitute a well-integrated group. They are distinguished from the other groups of relatives residing in their province by virtue of the fact that their common descent is, according to general opinion, higher than that of the other groups. Among other things, this opinion finds expression in the forms of social intercourse with those lower, the people, which is indicated by the term tau samara (literally, "ordinary people").

565 It is not possible to say that the nobility is distinguished from the lower groups of relatives through a certain ritual or through any other special characteristic (2), for all groups

2. For the term "specialities"
/cited in English/, see R. Linton,
The Study of Man, pp. 272 ff.

of relatives distinguish themselves from others around them through such a specialty. Each group of relatives is quite conscious of this, and the members actually boast of it. One can state that the karaeng group possesses more of these special characteristics than the other groups, that in some cases it forbids the use of these special characteristics to members of

565 /78 cont./ the other groups, and that it has the power to enforce this prohibition /79/ The special characteristics of the nobility serve as class prerogatives.

Among the lower /people/, this rarely gives rise to difficulties because in the majority of cases no one values the idea of taking over a special characteristic from just any other group.

565 The noble groups of relatives which live in the respective
582 provinces are, like the nonnoble ones, not completely endogamous. Marriages between members of these groups who therefore live in two or more different provinces occur regularly. In this respect the noble related group acts like the lower ones.

114 The prince's group of relatives constitutes a well-integrated
565 group whose efforts within the province is directed at maintaining the existing balance of power. Friedericy gathered his material among the nobility. His description of the organization of the classes is in many respects the picture which one obtains of the society if one views it through the eyes of the nobility. He thus places great emphasis upon the characteristics which distinguish the nobility from the other groups, and upon the "intermediary classes" with terms applying to them. One of these terms is ana' tjera'. Among the nobility this designates a child of the marriage between a man of the nobility and a woman from the people.

565 Among the nobility class and kinship coincide to a great
602 extent. A commoner can only be admitted into the nobility by way of kinship, that is to say, by marrying into the nobility. Such a marriage, however, does not immediately lead to complete admittance. Terms such as ana' tjera' regulate this. Admittance is accomplished only after several generations. These terms are therefore only in use among the highest class. They have a negative emotional quality. These terms are never heard among the people. To them a child of a mixed marriage is someone of noble blood, even after two or three generations. Such a person has standing just through "blood" alone.

● 565 /79 cont./ Members of the lower groups of relatives, who,
554 viewed from the standpoint of the nobility, form a single whole, are themselves not conscious of their unity. Each Makassarese regards his own group of relatives as higher than those around it. He always wants to /80/ raise himself above a group around him that is regarded as equally high-. In all groups of relatives there is a constant striving to rise higher, without this being fixed in a social hierarchy. The groups are therefore always in a relationship of opposition toward each other. Each group, on the one hand, tries to prevail over the other and, on the other hand, tries to avoid being dominated by the other.

Neither do these groups form a "social class" /cited in English/ in the sense that Ogburn and Nimkoff attach to that expression. Of the "common people" it is not always possible to say that they "meet on equal terms" /cited in English/ or that they have "essentially the same social status" /cited in English/ (1). One can therefore never say in advance whether

1. W. F. Ogburn and M. F.
Nimkoff, A Handbook of
Sociology, London, 1947,
pp. 210 ff.

two individuals may marry each other, because that would imply a certain equality. At the least it means that the man is not lower than his future wife. The uncertainty concerning the "/social/ class" of each individual is clear.

If, as a stranger, one asks someone from these groups to what class he belongs, he becomes embarrassed. He does not think of the possibility that the interrogator intends to distinguish him from the nobility, and as far as his environment is concerned, he is unable to indicate any class because there exists no social hierarchy with established class characteristics. He can merely indicate his /social/ class approximately by pointing

565 /80 cont. / to his group of relatives. In so doing, however,
554 nothing has as yet been said about the possibility of a future marriage. This depends further on his personal qualities and finally on the evaluation of his position at a certain moment. A person's /social/ class is no more than the possibility of contracting a certain marriage at a certain moment.

114 Friedericy has added an explanation of their origin to his
174 description of the social classes and their mutual relationships.
85 He thought that it was possible to indicate that the class organization arose from an exogamous fraternal grouping. His theory was first presented by de Josselin de Jong. The latter was able to indicate such a structural change among the Natchez; classes there developed out of clans (2).

2. J. P. B. Josselin de Jong,
"The Natchez Social System"
/cited in English/, Proceedings of
the Twenty-third International
Congress of Americanists,
September, 1928, pp. 553 ff.

Ideas concerning the origin of social classes have changed little since then./81/ Van Heek (1), as the last one, in

1. F. van Heek, Klassen-
en standenstructuur als
sociologische begrippen
/Class and Status Structure
as Sociological Concepts/,
Inaugural Address, Leiden,
1948, p. 7.

1948 states concerning this: "To the extent that in primitive societies the groups increase in size, come into greater contact

000 /81 cont./ with each other, become more complicated in their organizational forms, and their accumulated stores of goods become larger, their internal hierarchic articulation begins to stand out more clearly. "

Larger numbers in themselves do not necessarily bring about structural changes, however, and it is just these that interest us. The problem of the formation of a class structure in essence remains untouched here.

114
174
565 The arguments adopted by Friedericy for his theory from an analysis of Makassarese culture*do not appear convincing to me. His theory and my objections to it will therefore be briefly taken up at this point (2).

2. H. J. Friedericy, "De standen bij de Boeginezen en Makassaren, " Bijdragen, 1933, Vol. IV, p. 90.

On the basis of an analysis of the creation myth, Friedericy assumed that at an earlier stage in the development of society a fraternal division must have existed. Now, in order to make the idea of the origin of the present-day society from the mythical organization acceptable, he mentions a number of characteristics which both have in common: "A bipartite structure, superiority of one group over the other, patrilocality after marriage, the nonlocalized character of the groups -- all these things the two organizations have in common. Moreover, where initially we believed a great difference to exist, we have found upon closer examination clear indications in the present society of former exogamy of the two groups as well as of matrilineal descent" (3).

3. H. J. Friedericy, Ibid., p. 599.

114 /81 cont./ As clear indication of matrilineal descent he
174 then mentions the apportionment of the children in case of
565 divorce, according to which the woman was to receive all
586 even, and the man all uneven, children. Nowhere did I ever
observe any signs of such an apportionment, even though I
purposely made inquiries concerning this in several places (4).

4. In addition to Goa: in
Takalala, Takalar, Tjamba,
and Watampone.

In the second place, Friedericy mentions the "notes in
the diary of the princes of Goa and Tello": "The decree
existing among us /82/ stating that the fathers have no share in
the children was abolished by Toewammenang-ri-Djoentana
[587] (Karaëng-Karoenroeng)." Before the war the government
linguist in South Celebes, Dr. A. A. Cense, had already drawn
my attention to the fact that this statement refers to slaves.
As an argument in this connection, therefore, the statement
loses its force.

114 Furthermore, Friedericy mentions as a clear indication of
174 earlier exogamy the phenomenon of hypergamy in South Celebes.
565 Hypergamy, however, is such a widespread phenomenon that,
582 simply taken as such, it does not seem correct to me to use it
here as an argument for an earlier exogamy.

114 Of the four common characteristics, the mention of
174 patrilocal marriage must be based upon a misunderstanding.
565 My figures indicated that the situation was otherwise (1).

[591]

1. See above, p. 42.

Correspondence of the present-day organization with the
mythical, which would be based upon a bipartite structure,
superiority of the one group to the other, and the nonlocalization
of the groups, I do not consider to be a strong enough basis for

114 /82 cont./ deriving the origin of the present-day classes from
174 an exogamous kinship grouping.

565 The origin of the classes in South Celebes is beyond
historical observation. The tendency toward a vertical articu-
lation is present. How the present-day social hierarchy of
karaëng and non-karaëng, of the nobility and the people, came
into existence, is not clear.

128 The connection established by Friedericy between class and
565 kinship will now have to be worked out in greater detail. As
554 much as possible, the term "class" /stand/ (2) will be used

2. F. van Heek, op. cit.,
p. 7.

in this context to indicate the relationship of the nobility to
the people, and the terms "level" /hoogte/ or "standing"
/aanzien/ for the differences obtaining among the people. The
transitions, however, are so fluid that this will not always be
feasible.

182 It has been stated above, that social status in South Celebes
554 signifies in the first place the possibility to marry. A marriage
582 is an expression of status relationships obtaining at that moment.
Status and kinship touch upon each other in marriage. The
marriage policy of the elders and the bride price are two ele-
ments which must be discussed. /83/

Marriage Policy

554 The striving of individuals is directed toward a rise in
standing. This striving is expressed, among other things, in
acquiring wealth (land, livestock, ornaments), in defeating
others during fighting or skirmishing, in outdoing them in each
personal contact, and in adopting outward forms of higher
people. This striving is crowned in the marriage of one's
[581] children because this establishes the standing gained by one
personally, within the bounds set by descent.

557 /84 cont. / The fifth child, a girl, married her eighth-
581 /85/ degree cousin, a grandson of the old Imam of Borongloë.
612 In so doing, the kin-group tie with the first religious official
of the adat community was established on a firmer basis.

The members of the adat community head's widespread group of relatives reside in almost three kampong territories. The sixth child, again a son, married the daughter of the head of one of these kampongs. In this case the adat community head and the kampong head were first cousins.

Finally, the seventh child, a girl, married one of her sixth-degree cousins residing in one of these other kampongs.

584 On the basis of this example, a number of comments can
be made.

612 1. The adat community head, the father, was in this case the central figure who brought about the various marriages of his children. But this is not necessarily always so. If one witnesses several weddings successively in various houses of the same kampong and in one and the same related group, one will be struck by the fact that in each case the same elders are instrumental in arranging all details of the ceremonies. The parent concerned is consulted, but the actual leadership is in the hands of others. The same seems to be the case, if one investigates who brought the marriage partners together. The matter, to be sure, is discussed with the children's own parents, but it is of such importance to the related group that it cannot simply be left to them. If they make suggestions, these are taken into account. If they come to talk, they are given advice. But if they do nothing, other prominent members of the group take the initiative.

584 2. Just as the marriage of the fourth son was organized,
565 regulated, and paid for by a member of the high nobility, the adat community head in his turn likewise brought about a large number of marriages of his subordinates in the course of the years, sometimes after they had made their preference apparent to him, sometimes on his own initiative (1).

584 /85 cont. /
565

1. At one count, he arrived at 18, not counting the marriages of his own children.

[554] In so doing, the existing tie between high and low is greatly strengthened. The person who has brought about one's marriage /86/ is never forgotten. Such a marriage ceremony is on a much smaller scale than the higher person would have for his own child; nevertheless, it is always more expensive than it would have been had it been given by the kinsmen of the marriage partners themselves. Hence, the lower person receives as festive wear, for instance, a headdress of a certain color or a kris of a certain type, to which he actually has no right, but whose use is granted for the occasion by the higher person. As a result his standing rises.

554 3. From this example it appears further that the general
602 notion that all kinsmen should be each other's equals is incorrect.
582 It is clear that the adat community head, who is a prominent man in his group, insofar as he chooses them from among his kinsmen, favors children of other prominent members of his group as spouses for his children. Accordingly, a tendency toward endogamy exists among the prominent members of the related group. Furthermore, even among kinsmen such great differences in standing may exist that a marriage bond is regarded as undesirable by one of the parties.

The conflict of these tendencies becomes most clearly apparent in a well-integrated related group through the marriage policies of its prominent members. For the ordinary members this conflict is less urgent. They find sufficient possibilities for marriage within the group.

The Bride Price (sunrang)

554 For a Makassarese, the marriage of his child is an extreme-
585 ly important event because it demonstrates the standing that

583 /87 cont./ community head), and in part to kin relationship (kinsmen of the adat community head). By juggling these unequal amounts, it is possible to obtain a higher sunrang according to one rule than one is entitled to according to another.

554 The amount of the sunrang is in principle linked to the
583 level of the woman's group of relatives. Her standing and that of her group is made known by the sunrang paid at her wedding. It is therefore important for her kinsmen that she command as high a sunrang as possible. On the other hand, for the man's kinsmen it is just as important to pay a high sunrang on the basis of the principle that in effect man and wife are equal in standing. It is therefore comprehensible that the sunrang has a tendency to rise.

554 In his kingdom, the prince is the highest. He, and with
565 him his kinsmen of the same blood, should therefore have the
583 highest sunrang within that kingdom. As a result he is concerned
[413] that the sunrang in his region be clearly established according to rank and status, and known to everyone, so that his subjects will not pay or receive a higher sunrang /88/ than he himself. Hence, one repeatedly encounters prescriptions concerning the amount of the sunrang in lontar. Nature, however, seems to be stronger than rules. There always arises, some time after the amount has been officially established, the tendency to surpass the prescribed limits. Rules are only too gladly forgotten. As time goes on, more and more people seem to have paid and received a sunrang that was higher than they were permitted. Consequently, a new sunrang edict must be issued periodically. The last such regulation in the kingdom of Goa dates back to 1940. This sets the sunrang for

kinsmen of the Prince	at 28 reals
for the adat community head	at 26 reals
for the latter's kinsmen	at 24 reals
for ordinary people	at 20 reals
for slaves belonging to the Prince	at 12 reals.

554 /88 cont. / It is interesting to see how this regulation was
565 applied in practice. To this end, I examined the marriage
583 registers of the adat community of Borongloë for 1946 and 1947
to trace the reasons that led to the establishment of a sunrang
of 26, 24, or 22 (!) reals, where the parties seemed to have a
right only to 24 and 20 reals, respectively. The result is as
follows:

The sunrang of 26 reals, according to the regulation covering only the adat community head, was first paid on the occasion of the marriage between two descendants of the former head of the adat community of Bonto. Karaëng Bonto was, as recently as the beginning of this century, the head of a small, but more or less independent, adat community which subsequently became amalgamated with Borongloë. His descendants still have something of his standing. At present they live in Borongloë territory and therefore are unable to get a higher sunrang than the adat community head. Here it seems that they were permitted an equal sunrang. A sunrang of 26 reals was further paid at the wedding of a first cousin of the adat community head to the daughter of one of the head's followers of good standing. Twenty-four reals should have been the maximum here.

A sunrang of 24 reals, designated according to the particular regulation for kinsmen of the adat community head, was likewise paid, first, at the wedding of a daughter of one of the /89/ followers of this head, secondly, at the wedding of a sister of one of the kampong heads, thirdly, at the wedding of the daughter of a follower of a descendant of Karaëng Bonto, and fourthly, at a wedding between Buginese residing in Borongloë. The latter, to explain the fact that they wanted to see a sunrang of 24 reals registered, declared that in their own homeland they were entitled to a sunrang (Buginese: sompa) of 44 reals. A sunrang of 22 reals was finally conceded to a couple of strangers who declared that they received a sunrang higher than 20 reals in their own land.

583 /89 cont./ If one wants to obtain a general view of the amount of sunrang paid in the course of one year, the following figures will serve that purpose. In Borongloë (a good 14, 000 inhabitants), the Imam, charged with keeping the marriage registers, had to record 107 marriages between July 1, 1948 and July 1, 1949. Of these, the sunrang amounted:

- in 2 cases to 26 reals
- in 24 cases to 24 reals
- in 2 cases to 22 reals
- in 77 cases to 20 reals
- in 1 case to 12 reals
- in 1 case to 5.00 guildens.

563 The amount of 5.00 guildens was registered at a marriage
583 between Javanese who were part of a group of approximately 200, living together in kampong Pakatto. This low sunrang for the Makassarese regard the amount as such, is one of the reasons why the latter are inclined to regard the Javanese as people of the very lowest status.

567 The sunrang of 12 reals was paid to the father of a woman
583 who was regarded as a slave of the adat community head.

● 565 Nine of these 107 marriages were contracted between
583 individuals from the kampong Bontoramba. In seven of these
602 nine cases, the sunrang was not 20 but 24 reals, and in only two cases was it 20 reals. This situation which, if one considers the total number of marriages for which 24 and 20 reals were paid respectively, is very unusual and can only be partly interpreted. For each of the seven cases the people were able to give a certain reason. These follow here.

/90/ Both a son as well as a daughter of the Kapala of Bontoramba were married in this year. For both a sunrang of 24 reals was regarded as appropriate. In the case of one couple, the mother of the wife had Buginese kinsmen among whom, in their own country, a much higher sunrang than that of 20 reals was always paid. In the case of another couple, the woman was regarded as related to the adat community head; "she was not equal" (tena nasangkamma), said the Imam, and therefore

● 565 /90 cont./ she was not allowed to receive 26 reals (!), but
583 this kin relationship was nevertheless sufficient to raise her
602 above the normal 20 reals. In the fifth case, the man was a
kinsman of the Imam himself. It was an act of friendliness on
the part of the bridegroom's kinsmen to offer the bride, who
actually was regarded as lower, the sunrang customary in his
group, because, in so doing, they showed that they accepted
her completely as an equal (sunranna bura'ne naerang). In the
sixth case, kin relationship with the ex-kapala of an adjoining
kampong (Buttadidi) was given as the reason why 24 reals were
paid, and in the last case, an aunt of the girl declared that a
sunrang of 24 reals had always been customary in her kin group.
The curious thing in this case was that this aunt herself had
contracted a marriage by flight with a man who was regarded
by her kinsmen as so much lower that they had never been will-
ing to agree to a reconciliation (1).

1. For further elaboration
of this case, see Chapter
III, third part.

With the exception of this last-mentioned case, the first
six marriages involved individuals of the Kapala group. It is
not impossible that the marriage ties established by the Kapala
with the kin group of the adat community head (2) constituted

2. A daughter of the Kapala
married a kamanakang
(French: neveu /nephew/)
of the adat community head.

a reason for the Imam to record a sunrang of 24 reals in a num-
ber of cases for the kinsmen of this Kapala, against which he
would have had objections in other cases. Finally, the adat
community head is the one who must guard against the sunrang

565 /90 cont./ of his subjects approaching too closely his and
583 that of his kinsmen. The differences must continue to exist.
602 Everyone is convinced of this.

A number of observations can be made in relation to these
654 data.

583 1. It appears that in stating the reasons why /91/ a certain sunrang is paid at a certain wedding, the primary consideration concerns the woman. "The sunrang of the woman may never go down," it is often said. This means that the sunrang of a girl may never be lower than that which was paid for her mother. At the wedding of a woman to a lower man -- the exceptional case will be discussed below -- the latter always pays the sunrang of the woman. In addition, he makes a large number of other extra payments. In the case of the marriage of a man to a lower woman, the man's party likewise frequently pays the sunrang that is customary in the woman's group. Sometimes, however, the man wants it to be apparent that he is very favorably inclined towards his in-laws, and then he pays the sunrang customary in his own group, but this is a favor on his part. In the ordinary case, that is to say, at a wedding between two people who are regarded as equals in standing, the woman is, as it were, the gauge of value of her group. Her sunrang must not go down because her standing, which finds its most important expression in the sunrang, must not go down thereby, since this would lower, in turn the standing of her group of relatives.

554 2. Being a follower (1) appears to be a reason for raising

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602

583

1. See pp. 133 ff.

the sunrang above the level of the group to which this follower belongs, another example showing that being a follower raises a person's standing.

554 3. The office of kampong head appears to be a reason
583 for receiving a higher sunrang for one's sister and daughter.

[622]

582 /94 cont./ last-mentioned case, we may speak of a drop in
602 standing, even though the sunrang is maintained at its former level. If there are individuals who have become separated from a well-integrated related group, this means that they were quite unsuccessful in their striving to rise; if they had been successful, the other members of the group would have endeavored to bring about a marriage with one of them, since success attracts kinsmen as well as non-kinsmen.

Vertical Mobility of Individuals

554 The level of an individual is determined by his descent
562 as well as by his personal qualities. It is believed that men should strive to rise, and that women merely should take care that they do not fall. Striving to rise is not a primary requirement for women.

554 A man is able to increase his standing through personal
581 qualities. The acquired standing may be consolidated in a marriage. The outcome of all striving is, with a single exception, marriage with a woman of approximately equally high position.

554 The marriage of a man to a higher woman is strictly
565 forbidden. The only case in which it is directly apparent that
582 the woman is higher than the man is a marriage of a woman of the nobility to a man who is not of the nobility. The qualities in which a man must excel in order to be able to contract such a marriage are clearly stipulated.

Such qualities are given as learnedness, courage, and wealth. It is told of Sjech Jusupu, a highly venerated saint in South Celebes whose grave is always visited by crowds of people and whose life history people like to recite, that he, as an already recognized sage /95/, asked for the hand of the daughter of the Prince of Goa. The Prince would gladly have consented to this, but the members of the Royal Council (Hadat) of Goa,

554/95 cont. / were against it. They only yielded when the
565 Prince drew their attention to the fact that in the old lontar
582 the three above-mentioned qualities are already named as
qualifications for a man to be permitted to marry a higher
woman.

In the few historical writings that I was able to consult,
I did not find examples of war lords who were able to contract
marriage with a higher woman on the basis of successes gained
in battle.

The present-day generation is acquainted with the case
of a wealthy merchant from Macassar, a hadji, who married
one of the female followers of the Queen of Goa. This man
was a favorite of the Prince, who followed his advice in many
cases. He therefore owed his rise in standing entirely to
personal qualities. In addition, the case is well known of a
young man born in an ordinary kin group but employed as a
tax official and very influential at the same time, who
married a daughter of one of the adat community heads. The
[583] sunrang in these cases remained the same as the one that had
585 been paid for the mother and sisters, but an exceptionally
large amount was asked for, and paid, to cover the expenses
of the feast. This is called the buying of blood (ammalli
tjera').

554 In these very rare cases, the difference in descent be-
581 tween man and wife, according to general opinion, was great.
582 But even in the more or less regularly occurring cases where
these differences are small, learnedness, wealth, and courage
are of importance. An imam or a revered guru ngadji (1),

1. One who instructs
children in the reading
of the Koran.

may contract a marriage, or he can cause his son to contract one,
of a type which a brother who remained an ordinary kampong

554 /95 cont. / resident would have no chance of contracting.

581 In one of the fights that arose in Goa in 1946, a man saved a
582 number of his wife's kinsmen by his courageous behavior.

[626] His wife should not have been allowed to marry him, because
she was higher than he, and for that reason her kin group had
declared her dead (2). As a result of his bravery, the wife's

2. See Chapter III, third part.

kin group was persuaded /96/ to agree to a reconciliation. In cases where the differences in social level are small, there may be hesitation as to whether the man and woman should marry. If both parties are agreed, and the marriage is brought about, it is not possible for an outsider to disapprove. It is believed that the reasons leading to the marriage could not be evaluated (1).

1. A discussion of the cases in which there is a difference of opinion, will be found in Chapter III, third part.

554 Children from such a marriage, even where the difference
565 in level between the parents is considerable, are regarded
562 officially as equals in their mother's group of relatives,
582 because people hold fast to the idea that a woman may not fall /in social standing/. Daughters marry by preference in their mother's group; with respect to the sons there is some hesitancy. Factual data are lacking. I was unable to discover any terms used to designate these children (analogous to ana' tjera').

In cases of marriages between a man and a lower woman, only those where the difference in level is great deserve mention, for marriages in which the man is a little higher than his wife are normal marriages. They should not be distinguished

554 /96 cont./ from marriages in which the partners are regarded
562 as equal. The marriage of a cousin (samposikali) of the adat
582 community head to the daughter of a kapalakompong /kampong
head/ is called a marriage between equals, but on the part of
the head, the idea of a union of his cousin with a son of the
Kapala is rejected because this young man is regarded as lower
than the girl.

554 One of the princes had a son called daëng Ali by a woman
565 from the kin group of one of the adat community heads. His
585 brother had a daughter called daëng Batje by an ordinary
574 kampong woman. Daëng Ali was regarded as considerably
higher than his first cousin. They married and lived with the
groom's father, the Prince. Now it is expected of the kinsmen
of daëng Batje's mother, ordinary kampong people as we said,
that they will be modest /97/ and that they will not constantly
come to visit their sister (cousin or aunt, as the case might
be). Of daëng Batje, in turn, it is expected that she will
receive these kinsmen in a friendly way; that she will not
show herself proud toward them, but will entertain them nicely.
She should not entertain them too lavishly, for that would be
a sign of superiority, but especially not too poorly, for that
would indicate that the visitors were not appreciated. For
daëng Batje the visit of her kinsmen is an agreeable matter,
because people can see how the relatives appreciate her, a
fact which in turn strengthens her position with respect to
them. Through her, therefore, her kinsmen have a certain
right to come to the palace. A couple of nieces -- the best
ones are picked out for this purpose -- may temporarily come
to live in the palace. There they learn the superior manners
of the nobility. In so doing, they rise in standing and later
have a chance of a better marriage, something which again
works to the benefit of their entire group.

554 Children from a marriage of a man to a lower woman
565 are regarded as lower than their father's kinsmen and higher

554 /97 cont. / than those of their mother. The daughters are
565 preferably married to someone in their father's group of relatives.

[156] The position of the sons resulting from these marriages is difficult. By reason of their descent they are unable to marry daughters from their father's group. For a marriage they are dependent upon their mother's group. In practice, it appears that they often conduct themselves as the wildest and boldest among the young men. It may well be that this conduct is unconscious in order to show themselves, at all costs, worthy of a girl of somewhat higher blood.

Karaëng call those who were born from such marriages ana'tjera' (literally, "blood children"), but the kampong people call them karaëng. The former is a denigrating term, the latter one of respect. Lower persons know people with karaëng blood who live in their kampong; the latter are regarded as slightly higher than those about them by virtue of their blood. Upon questioning, it appears, for instance, that their great-grandfather was a karaëng who married one of the women from the group of relatives residing there, that his son married a kinsman of his mother, and so on. The fact [583] that their grandfather (great-grandfather) was a karaëng is taken into account in determining the sunrang; the knowledge is kept alive.

/98/ Confusion is created if one calls the ana'tjera' an intermediate class. They do not form a related group occurring between the nobility and the people. It is merely a matter of individual cases having a tie in common with their father's group, the karaëng. They try to be taken into their father's group of relatives. Among themselves, however, they do not form an integrated group because, through the mother, they always belong to different groups of relatives. But whichever of the two groups they settle down with, their father's or their mother's, they are not regarded as equals by those around them.

554 /98 cont./ As regards these ana' tjera', it is immediately
562 apparent that the interests of sons and daughters are distinct.
565 The former are dependent for marriage upon their mother's
582 group, the latter upon their father's group.

Vertical Mobility of Cultural Elements

565 Sorokin has pointed to the fact that not only individuals
626 or groups, but even cultural elements may rise or go down (1).

1. P. Sorokin, Social Mobility,
New York and London, 1927,
p. 133.

Each status /stand/ /group/ has its own external characteristics by which its members are differentiated from the others. Forms of social intercourse and clothing, mode of eating and celebrating festivals are the most spectacular of these. The higher groups constantly strive to preserve their own forms for their members. Lower groups constantly strive to take over elements belonging to the members of the higher status, since by this alone their standing rises.

Attempts to adopt their ways is opposed by the higher groups. On the one hand, their adoption is regarded as ridiculous, on the other, it arouses the anger of those higher; sometimes punishment is meted out. Adoption of elements from the highest status is not carried out directly by the lowest of the people, but takes place gradually. First those just below the highest adopt their forms, and so on down. It appears that not only the higher, but sometimes even those lower resist adoption of their forms by another socially lower, that is to say, they fight against a rise in social standing by a competitor.

565 /98 cont./ Several characteristics are linked to the
643 Prince's group of relatives, and as such becomes status
characteristics.

[534] /99/ The Prince speaks of his slaves (ata), but if the
adat community head were to speak of his slaves in the
company of a man of nobility, it would make him ridiculous.
The Prince regards the use of a certain kind of spear (lallung)
at the ornament ritual as prohibited to anyone except his
own kin group. Difficulties have never arisen about this,
for it appeared that this type of spear is frequently unknown
among members of the lower groups of relatives. But diffi-
culties did arise concerning the use of the festive drum
(ganrang) which is likewise exclusively reserved for kinsmen
of the Prince. It turned out that the ganrang was regularly
played in secret by others, too. In many cases the Prince
winked at this practice, but when, in 1941, he heard that in
a certain kampong the drum had been played where, in his
opinion, this should not have happened, he sent out the
kapala concerned to investigate. No punishment followed the
misdemeanor, and no prohibition for the future. The fact
that the guest who had brought the drum with him came from
outside Goa was accepted as an excuse, but only in order to
prevent the further difficulties that would have resulted from
an actual prohibition. Playing the ganrang is a privilege of
the Prince of Goa; everyone, even the stranger, must comply
with that. This fact corresponds to what was reported above
about the amount of the sunrang for Buginese who in their own
land have a much higher bride price (sompa) than the Prince
of Goa, but who place themselves under his sunrang, at least
formally, while they reside inside his kingdom.

565 At his inauguration the prince of Goa stands upon the
634 Goan investiture rock where the prescribed ritual is performed
643 on him. There he accepts the vows of faithfulness from the
great of the realm and adat community heads. The last two
adat community heads of Borongloë stood on the "Flat Rock"

- 565/99 cont. / of Borongloë in 1939 and 1947 respectively.
634 There the ritual was performed on them, and they received
643 the vows of faithfulness from prominent kinsmen and kapala-
kampong. But while the princes of Goa have stood upon their
rock for hundreds of years for their inauguration, this was not
the case in Borongloë.

The inauguration of the father of the present-day head, which took place in 1916, /100/ was performed with ritual (adinging dinging) at the "Flat Rock," but he did not insist upon it, and vows of faithfulness were not made. However, when this head abdicated in 1938, he himself arranged the inaugural festival for his son, and on this occasion standing on the rock was presented as old adat. It is characteristic that 565 this adoption of a ritual element belonging to the karaeng
626 group was not repudiated by members of this group, but by a
634 few members of one of the other prominent groups of relatives of Borongloë. As an old man said: "You, Gallarrang (1),

1. Title of the adat community head of Borongloë.

did not stand on it (the stone), and now you let your son stand on it."

This way of striving to rise was therefore criticized by a member of one of the adat community's kin groups foremost in opposition. The person against whom the remark was directed, the old adat community head, later reported that shortly thereafter the old man had fallen sick and since then had never really recovered again. In his opinion this signified that what he had done was correct and that the criticism had been unjust. He believed that the ancestors would have turned against him, had they considered the ritual performed by him to be incorrect. This indicates that a prominent figure may interfere consciously in ritual matters and bring about changes.

554 /100 cont./ A favorite's daughter who temporarily resides
● 565 in the house of her father's master may learn to make little
576 cakes of a certain name and form, known only among the
higher people. In that house she also learns the forms of social
intercourse observed among household members and at
daily meals. Upon returning home, her altered manners are
immediately conspicuous. She addresses her mother only in
a soft tone of voice, she does not eat as ravenously as the
others, and she conducts herself completely like a well-
brought up girl from the better social circles. At least in
the beginning, she is also treated differently from the other
children. "She bears the sign of daeng X" (2), it is said

2. Bata piarana daeng X,
literally, "the etiquette
of nurture by daeng X."

[582 approvingly of her. As a result, she has a chance of a better
557 marriage, that is to say, of a marriage to a higher man than
any of her sisters would be entitled to, since they did not
enjoy the privilege of staying temporarily in the house of
daeng X.

/101/ When the seven-year-old son of my host offered
me cigarettes and when he came to tell me that dinner was
ready, he briefly dropped to his knees in so doing. This is a
custom completely unknown in his father's group of relatives
and borrowed from the kareng's kin group in whose house the
father had lived in his early years. The custom was then
taught to the son. The father laughed happily: "He knows
his manners," and by this he meant that his son had
appropriated good manners, namely of those who are higher.
It is a sign of politeness to treat a higher guest with his own
forms of social intercourse. The lower person who shows that
he is familiar with these forms gains in standing in so doing.
If this were to become a daily practice, his conduct would be

554 /101 cont./ thought of as ridiculous by the related group.

565 They would see in it merely an affected way of distinguishing

576 himself from those around him.

The wearing of certain ornaments by a bride, and of a kris or a headdress (sigara') of a certain color by the bride-

585 groom, is frequently a sign of friendliness on the part of a

572 higher person. He may, as a favor, permit a lower person to adorn himself on certain occasions with things which belong to the higher group. This raises the standing of the lower person.

A woman who caused her deceased mother to be treated as though she were a relative of the Prince was regarded as arrogant. "She is daring," was the reaction of those around her. It means that what she does is dangerous, because in so doing she enters the state of "bassung"; that is to say, she can be punished for this deed with a swollen belly. Nobody, however, expresses his disapproval openly, since, after all, it is quite possible that what she does is exactly the right thing, and in that case the one who made the remarks would be punished, as happened in the case of standing on the investiture rock.

If a person conducts himself as a higher person, and if he does so with great self-assurance and with success, then these modes of conduct help to determine his social standing.

The System of Followers

571 The system of followers is one of the most obvious aspects of the tendency toward vertical mobility. It may be described as the /102/ totality of relationships between a higher person (karaëng, lord) and those lower, whom he calls ana' ana'na (1) or taunna (his people). The basis of this system is the

114 /102 cont./ able to describe his impressions in a clear and lively manner. The conditions he sketches can still be recognized as typical of South Celebes, but at the same time it is apparent that much has changed. His description will first be reproduced here. Then my own data will follow, /103/ and in the process we will be able to point out a number of times what has remained and what has changed.

554 "...the higher the nobility to which one belonged, the
565 more did one possess the privilege of impunity. The little
571 man almost completely lacked protection against the pre-
sumptions and vexations of the Anakaraeng. As a result he was forced to look for protection from those who caused the evil condition, namely, the nobility. The latter undertook the protection, but conditionally, that is, the Anakaraeng demanded a certain measure of subjection of his protégé. From this a relationship developed to which we refer as "being a follower," but which is described more characteristically and accurately by the Makassarese word for follower, Ana ana. (Ana signifies "child," Ana ana, "little child.") Between the Anakaraeng and his protégé there existed, therefore, the relationship of a great and powerful man and a little child.

571 "The follower was obliged to recognize the Anakaraeng as
675 his master (karaeng). He was forced to accompany him while hunting and on his travels, to help him in various agricultural activities, to bring his small presents, and to perform services at his festivals. He was obligated to assist him if he was threatened or attacked, or if he had to avenge an insult. In a word, he had to follow his master (minawang) and carry out whatever he was enjoined to do. The Anakaraeng, on the other hand, assumed the responsibility of guarding his ana ana against any arbitrary treatment, and if they suffered alleged or actual injustice, he took their side. The relationship was so close that to insult a follower was equal to insulting his

571 /103 cont./ master, and the latter already felt offended if
675 one of his followers so much as received a poor reception. If
a follower's horse or buffalo were stolen, the master would
say: 'My buffalo or my horse is stolen, ' and he would leave
no stone unturned to get back the stolen property and to avenge
himself upon the culprit -- more accurately, the one who
insulted him --, for he would not dream of handing over the
thief to the authorized judge.

"The tie between Anakaraeng and ana ana was voluntary
and consequently could be broken. The Karaeng rarely dis-
missed his followers because of bad behavior. As a rule he
did so if the follower did not satisfy his far-reaching /104/
obligations or had been disobedient. The follower, on the
other hand, would choose another Karaeng if he thought that
he was being insufficiently protected, if his master demanded
too many services of him, or if, in his opinion, another
follower was more favored. Such a break in relations was
rarely resorted to, however, because the follower would incur
the hatred and vengeance of his former master.

"The Karaeng were also obligated to provide for the
material interests of their followers. They helped them with
paddy fields, with paddy, plowing, cattle, and sometimes
with money, for instance in cases of marriages and deaths.
Not all Karaeng, however, fulfilled this obligation; many
were more intent upon their own interests than upon that of
their ana ana.

554 "The higher the social standing of an Anakaraeng, the
565 more followers he had. Conversely, the more followers he
571 had, the greater was his standing and influence, and the
anakaraeng /sic/ who had the most followers was at the same
time the most prominent and the most influential.

571 "Followers consisted of distant blood relatives, people
[602] who from generation to generation had been the followers of
one single kin group, and people, frequently foreigners, who

178 /106 cont./ people work a great deal and for giving little
557 has difficulty in obtaining people and tends to jeopardize
571 severely his striving to rise. The termination of the tie with
[558] his master involves for the lower person the loss of the superior's
protection and help and at the same time the loss of social
standing which the association with the superior casts on him.
Three-quarters of a century ago, however, the loss of protection
was a graver matter than it is today. Since then, the position
of the lower people has become stronger.

554 A number of distinctions can now be made with regard
565 to the multiplicity of forms in the system of followers. It
571 would be exceptional for an ordinary kampong resident to have
a stranger in his house who works for him and who could be
considered to have entered into a relationship as a follower.
Such a relationship is, in a case like this, extremely temporary.
If, in the course of years, personal ties become stronger, and
if the stranger works and lives to his satisfaction, then the
relationship is continued. But frequently, especially if he is
married, the follower starts out for himself after a while with
a garden or a sawah of his own. As a result, such a relation-
ship becomes looser although it need not be broken. In that
case, the former followers no longer live as servants but as
newcomers in the kampong (1). Subsequently, it depends

1. In the Bontoramba census,
they were included among the
Rest group.

upon their personal relationship to their master whether they
will continue to come and help at special events such as
festivals.

571 As an example of this in Bontoramba, we can point to a
591 married couple who had committed silariang. Before
reconciliation, this couple had worked for one of the wealthy
people of the kampong, had moved into a house of their own,

571 /109 cont./ whose personal qualities were of little account
634 among the Makassarese, relied almost entirely upon ties
created by preceding generations. That he was able to main-
tain himself as head during these times is merely due to the
support of his father, the former head, and to that of the Self-
government of Goa.

554 The kinsmen of the adat community head live distributed
571 over three kampong territories. In his group of relatives it
602 is always pretended that the number of followers living with
634 and among the kinsmen in these kampongs is very large. This
is done to make the social standing of the group appear as
great as possible. After all, the possession of many followers
indicates that a group rises considerably above those around
them. In effect, in the adat community head's group of
relatives only eight houses with followers were found. The
occupants in each case had a special tie with one of the head's
kinsmen. They performed the customary tasks for the head
and cooperated at the festivals of other members belonging to
this group of relatives.

554 According to reports, the number of followers of the
● 565 karaeng group is very large, especially the number of those
571 whose previous generation also worked for this group of
relatives. The karaeng are each supposed to have had one or
more followers who frequently lived in the neighborhood of
the master (1). This conception of the situation corresponds

[241]

1. It is related that here
working the sawah is en-
tirely in the hands of
followers because people
do not like to see a
karaeng working in the
sawah.

554 /109 cont./ completely to the established ideal, the more
565 followers, the greater the standing. But in view of the experience
571 with the adat community head's group of relatives who, even
though on /110/ a lower level, gave the same representation
of the matter, it is necessary to be careful here, too, so long
as we must proceed entirely from unauthenticated reports.

178 The importance of the system of followers in the earlier
571 form described by Koorieman decreased. New forms arose;
these are to be found in the big-city relationships of Macassar.
In the country areas, the relationship of large landowner to
day laborer is an example.

178 The system of followers in and around the city of Macassar
441 is observable wherever wealthy merchants earn their money
571 by means of the sale and purchase of rice and fish, sand and
stones. For their trade they employ a large number of people.
This employment relationship can best be described as that of
followers to their master in which the personal qualities of the
merchant, the punggawa, are of overriding importance. Here,
too, a follower avenges an insult done to his punggawa. Here,
too, services performed -- frequently in addition to a fixed
salary or piece wage -- are rewarded irregularly and in a
general way. Here the punggawa also has a personal tie with
a number of his people. When he dies his trade immediately
goes down. His organization is built upon personal ties with
his subordinates.

Large Landownership

471 Some characteristics of the system of followers can also
571 be found connected with large landownership (1), in the

- 466
1. No figures are available
to indicate precisely when we
can begin to speak of large

466 /111 cont./ furthermore has demonstrated that he is capable
471 of administering and working his own lands well. A koasa is
571 frequently an energetic personality. Such an individual in
turn easily attracts laborers, either among his own kinsmen,
or among the other kampong residents. Through his koasaship
he gains in standing. The reason that the sunrang was higher
for a girl than was customary in her group of relatives was
explained by the fact that her father was a koasa.

One whose standing is solely based upon descent will not
necessarily be a large landowner at the same time. After all,
he frequently may not possess the personal qualities necessary
to attach the best koasa to himself; inferior koasa, in their
turn, attract inferior workers. The distribution of the harvest
is less well organized, the number of sheaves that such a large
landowner would receive in his house would therefore be
scarcely worthwhile. A large landowner who might attempt
to make working contracts which are too advantageous for him
would find out that this is not appreciated. As a consequence
of such a move workers who do not need his land to provide for
their sustenance would either go to work the lands of others,
or else start up for themselves.

565 Not every nobleman, therefore, is able to muster up the
initiative and the organizational ability to develop a new
complex of sawahs. This can only be done by a nobleman who
possesses, in addition to the necessary descent, the personal
qualities required for such an undertaking. If these personal
qualities are present, many people, rather than setting out for
themselves, develop a tract of land for him under the leader-
ship /112/ of one of his koasa. The tie with the superior is
then regarded as of great importance (1).

1. Sometimes a person who
possesses much land employs
a so-called koasa-lompo
("large representative") who,
in his turn, hires local

406 /112 cont. / koasa, sometimes called,
 471 for purposes of differentiation,
 571 "small representative"
 (koasa tja'di).

441 One who owes his standing solely to his personal qualities
 471 obtains no more in returns from his land than a person whose
 454 standing is based entirely upon his descent, as might be expected
 on rational economic grounds. During the postwar periods when
 many Makassarese merchants were earning large sums, one
 might have expected that many of them would have invested
 even a small part of their money in pices of land in the interior.
 One would have thought that they might have bought sawahs,
 or that at least they would have had large pieces of land
 entered in their name in the land-tax registers with the purpose
 of having them developed later. Nothing of this kind, how-
 ever, appears from the Goa land-tax registers. The opinion
 of one of these merchants that he did buy jewelry with this
 money but no land because land is difficult to sell quickly if
 one needs money merely points to the direction in which the
 explanation must be looked for.

571 For a merchant who is not related to the nobility of Goa,
 565 it is difficult to attach a good koasa to himself and through him
 554 a large number of laborers. If he were to purchase several
 pieces of land, his share in the harvest would not be worth the
 trouble. An ordinary kampong individual prefers to work the
 land of a prominent man from the karaeng group. In that he
 has confidence; it strengthens his position. A tie with a
 nobleman always appears valuable. On the other hand, so
 long as economic necessity is not coercive and the personality
 of the large landowner does not convince him of his special
 personal qualities, there is no reason for the kampong man
 to work for this wealthy stranger. In principle, this
 stranger is regarded as an equal with whom one can therefore

571 /112 cont. / compete and of whom one can take advantage,
 ● 565 while, the relationship to nobility is one of low to high rank,
 554 based upon cooperation. A wealthy stranger could only have
 his lands worked successfully if he manages to marry one of
 the karaeng. Marriage into the group signifies that he is re-
 garded as possessing the required personal qualities.

554 /113/ The relation of descent to personal qualities can
 565 perhaps be found in a Makassarese idea that the most
 appreciated qualities are inherent in the karaeng group of
 [643] relatives, and that the prince is looked upon as possessing
 these qualities to the greatest degree.

One whose descent cannot be traced to the karaeng re-
 lated group, but who gives evidence of possessing these
 qualities is, therefore, more or less regarded as a karaeng.
 [582] Marriage to a member of the karaeng group is possible in that
 case.

The personal qualities required to be a "good" master in
 156 Kooreman's time are different from those required at the
 178 present time. The old ideal of personality has not (yet) lost
 its power of attraction, but a new ideal is emerging alongside
 it, which is not (yet) accepted. In his book Bontorio, H. J.
 Merlijn sketched the old ideal in the figure of "the last
 general," and the new in the general's son. In my opinion,
 the last sketch succeeded less well because this "djurutulis
 [648] figure /clerk. -- Ed. / was equipped by him with a number
 of personal qualities which the governmental authorities be-
 tween 1905 and 1924 liked to see in the younger heads of
 nobility, but which were not accepted as a new ideal in this
 form.

156 A number of these qualities apply to the head who, as
 554 was stated above, had been unable to attach any followers to
 571 himself through his personal qualities and who had, therefore,
 634 been forced to rely on kin group and the administration to
 maintain himself in his function.

178 / 117 cont. / taken over by lower groups, like so many other
● 565 cultural elements belonging to the highest group. In this case,
567 the possession of slaves was not prohibited by this highest group
to the lower ones, but at the same time it was not simply per-
mitted, either. This explains why, in his first conversations
with the investigator, the adat community head claimed the
number of his ata to be very large. At the same time it ex-
plains why, when the ata question was repeatedly brought up,
he later remarked that it was a little silly to talk so much
about his ata.

Most of the external characteristics that distinguished
slaves during Kooreman's, and perhaps still in Friedericy's,
time have disappeared. A single characteristic to be found
with only a few individuals today is still reminiscent of a
complex which half a century ago occupied a much more im-
portant place in the culture.

Loyalty Oath

521 Whenever Makassarese men between fifteen and thirty-five
years of age -- referring to those I have in mind -- are together,
it is a part of etiquette to tell tales which give to the observer
an impression of boasting and exaggeration. Successes with
women (always unrecognizably indicated in the vaguest terms),
successes gained in a fight, or a victory in a verbal battle,
they like to elaborate on all these. A valiant deed or a regal
gesture is not kept quiet. In describing a feast, the number of
buffaloes slaughtered for the occasion, the number of guests
present, and the length of the festival are always made to
appear as great as possible. Earlier festivals, in these stories,
invariably surpass /118/ those of present times in all respects.
The size of the speaker's own group of relatives in the past is
clearly represented in this manner to those now alive, and
thus also to the younger men, who are always among the
audience.

114 /116 cont./ society declares that the class of slaves is "really
567 secondary" and that it had "no appreciable task in the life of
the society." Consequently, he eliminates slaves from his
further discussion. From his data, however, it must be con-
● 565 cluded that slaves stood in a special relationship to the karaeng
567 and that in Goa they had no other ties among each other than
the awareness that they all belonged to members of one and the
same related group. The above-mentioned sunrang regulation
in which the Prince establishes a special sunrang only for his
554 slaves favors this point. To mention another example in
567 support of this interpretation, the adat community head of
634 Borongloë does not speak to a karaeng about his ata, but about
/117/ his people (taunna), because speaking of his ata would
be an expression of haughtiness. In so doing he would place
himself on a level with a karaeng and thereby make himself
ridiculous. Toward his subjects he does speak of his ata, but
even then he does so much less openly than the Prince (1).

[641]

1. In 1949 slaves in Borongloë
had the active right to vote.
In point of fact they participated
in the election. Before the war
I made no inquiries into this
matter. On page 552 of his
dissertation (1933), Friedericy
reports that slaves were barred
from the right to vote with
respect to the heads placed
over them. Here he is referring
to the slaves belonging to the
karaeng.

178 It seems that the possession of slaves is something that be-
565 longs to the karaeng group like a certain ritual or a certain
567 color, and that it is something which has been successively

175 /130 cont./ In the period after 1905, when complaints
177 registered with the officials of the Inland Administration were
648 acted upon, the leaders of such groups, even those of high
669 nobility, were increasingly restricted in their movements.
It became apparent that they were not safe before the
administration officials if someone had registered a complaint
about them. Very slowly, often unconsciously, the realization
must have dawned upon them, that they had to choose be-
tween submission to the rules of the new order, which the
government upheld, and resistance against this same govern-
ment.

175 The activities of those who chose resistance became
648 increasingly more distinct from those of the first mentioned.
669 Those who continued to resist were forced to withdraw
gradually with their followers into districts beyond easy access
until they were finally taken prisoner or killed, after having
been forced completely into the defensive and having been
labeled bandit chieftain or gang leader. Such was the end
of men like daeng Pabarang in the western part of Bone around
1910, and like Tolo (1) in Polombangkeng /131/ in 1915.

175 1. "In the second quarter of
177 the year mentioned (1915),
579 the number of robberies
565 increased disquietingly through
the appearance of a number
of notorious gang leaders in
the former province of Goa.
Among these leaders there
belong Tolo and his dreaded
lieutenants, Basareng, Baso
Patjiro Daeng Mapata,
(constituting part of the Goa
royal family) Radjamang,

175 /131 cont. /

177

579

● 565

Djappa, Bakka (the two last mentioned had been armed police servants and instructors in the use of firearms), and Abbassa Daeng Manromo Karaeng Biladji, stepbrother of Goa's previous prince. In a comparatively small region, these persons committed no less than 130 lootings over a period of a few months. The brutalities frequently committed by them in broad daylight were indescribable since they were convinced that, even if they were recognized, nobody would dare betray them. The native heads, including many regents, paid them royal respects, presented them with horses, and organized feasts at their arrival for which buffaloes and horses were slaughtered. In many districts a system of contributions, a tax, was even introduced which safeguarded the payer against inconvenience." Eerdmans, p. 1078.

175

177

They had become figures who no longer fitted into a social system that was based on the ideas of peace and order, legal security, and personal safety, upheld by the government (1).

500

1. Through a series of special

177 /134 cont. / goalkeeper of the karaeng's team was easily
 554 able to reach the ball first. When the karaeng had the ball,
 576 the opposing team hesitated to attack. When the karaeng
 526 fell down after a collision, the player of the opposing team
 took care to roll over a few times himself and to get up again
 only slowly, in order to give the impression that it was he,
 and not the karaeng who was the loser in this collision. It is
 understandable that the Makassarese are not inclined toward
 soccer playing. The rules conflict with their feelings of
 courtesy toward a higher person.

526 People are more attracted to their own raga game than
 554 by soccer precisely because it gives them the opportunity of
 576 showing courtesy to the higher one, which puts both teams,
 high and low, in a good mood. The raga ball is a light ball
 braided of bamboo or rattan. The players stand around in
 a circle. The purpose of the game is to keep the ball "alive"
 in a graceful manner. By foot, hand, arm, or head, it is
 transferred in little arcs from one player to the other. If a
 young nobleman takes part in the game, care is taken that
 he gets a good player next to him, that is to say, someone
 who can transfer the ball in such a manner that the karaeng
 can do something beautiful with it, so that he will reap the
 success in which the entire group shares.

643 The prince rules his realm through his kinsmen and
 644 followers. His rights and obligations toward the people and
 those of his kinsmen are not strictly defined. Friedericy
 leaves us no doubt concerning their flexibility.

644 Admission into the prince's group of relatives is only
 585 possible on the basis of personal qualities, through marriage
 into the group, and at the same time it is tied to limiting
 prescriptions. This gives the group a stable and durable
 character.

● 565 The highest social class rules. The concept of ruling
 643 consequently has an element of durability.

668 /138 cont./ the present-day rulers, only to become the prince himself in place of those who have been driven out.

181 The ideal of Makassarese-Buginese culture which is unconsciously present in people's thinking could be described
182 as a large kingdom comprising the whole of South Celebes

668 where peace prevails under a powerful and good prince.

This formulation is based upon the striving, inherent in every bilateral related group, for expansion and steadily continuing inclusion of all surrounding groups until as large a grouping as possible has been attained, whose limits for the present are those of South Celebes.

182 We mentioned earlier a strong horizontal mobility
565 which can be explained by a conflict in personality structure
154 and at the same time by a great insecurity about the individual's standing which has its source in the absence of a clearly delineated vertical articulation. Unrest and insecurity are therefore always present, even in times of peace and order.

154 The established ideal is unattainable, but the individuals content themselves with this so long as they have the
181 opportunity to continue striving for this ideal in the "ordinary"
182 ways present in the culture. But as soon as this possibility
668 no longer exists in their opinion, and when the individual, perhaps unconsciously, believes that he is unequal to the circumstances, then the otherwise usual tension between ideal and reality becomes too great. The individual then seeks to attain his ideal in an extraordinary manner, which almost every culture provides.

The expectation of salvation is a hypertension phenomenon. It is an attempt to actualize in a short period of time the distant ideal which for a number of individuals had become too unattainable, whatever the reasons for this may have been.

589 /161 cont. / In the 1930 census report, the suggestion is
114 made with respect to the "East of the Archipelago, " "that the
continued unmarried state of a woman in the native society is
regarded as more or less undesirable or dishonorable" (3). I

3. Volkstelling 1930,
Part 5, p. 66.

have been unable to find a single indication in South Celebes
pointing to the correctness of this last qualification. For the
581 woman concerned it is regarded as "undesirable" that she does
589 not marry. It is believed that only through marriage does one
become a "complete person." Attempting to bring about
someone's marriage signifies that one means well for this
person. But one prefers to see a young woman unmarried rather than
to see her marry a man who is not regarded as suitable.
[559] Suitability is judged almost entirely on the basis of his social
standing.

By the same token people prefer to see their son unmarried
than to see him contract a marriage contrary to parental
wishes. Not to marry may be undesirable for an individual,
but it is always regarded more highly than to marry an
undesirable partner.

114 "Among the Makassarese, " the report goes on (4), "who
583
589

4. Ibid., p. 67.

585 have strict difference between the social classes, the number
of unmarried women /162/ among the higher classes is great
because there the bride price and the "balandja" (the expenses
of the wedding feast) are so high. " Now this "bride price"
among the kinsmen of the Prince of Goa amounts to 28 reals
or 56. -- guildens, and that of the small man to 20 reals or
40. -- guildens. The difference of 16. -- guildens does not

114

583 /162 cont./ seem worth mention. Above all, it can never
584 be the reason in this group, which is so much wealthier, for
565 a marriage not to take place.

To explain the fact that the number of unmarried women
[582] in the highest class is larger than that among the people, one
could at most point to the existing hypergamy prohibition.

The high costs of the wedding feast are a customary
argument to explain the fact that a large number of women
remain unmarried. In my opinion this is incorrect (1). If the

1. The argument is also
used as an "explanation"
for the existence of
marriage by flight. It is
safer to assume that in
times like those after 1929,
the number of marriages
by flight increased some-
what through a gradual
adjustment toward new
relationships with regard
to money and goods.

marriage partners are related to each other (for instance,
cousins to the sixth degree), one cannot say that such a
marriage could not come about on the grounds of excessive
costs. The expenses for a feast are expressed in amounts,
and these amounts typify a certain social standing. One does
not like to cut down these amounts, because then one has the
feeling that this feast would be "inferior" compared with a
previous one.

178

435 When an increase in the value of money takes place, as
583 it did around 1930, a certain group could no longer afford the
585 same amount as a number of years before. The members of

156/164 cont. / inadequate in their social relations with other
589 men, could be the reason for their refusal to marry. The fact
that the older people do not consider these individuals capable
of contributing to the standing of the group could be the reason
why they are satisfied with their refusal.

[584] No initiative toward marriage of any kind may ever pro-
ceed from a woman. The docile, withdrawn girls are set up
as an example. I believe, but would like to see this confirmed
by further investigation, that among the unmarried women
these docile types are still the most frequent. The more
aggressive personalities who possess to a lesser degree the
qualities most valued in this society seem to marry sooner.
An old woman explained why a particular girl had been allowed
to marry by reasoning that otherwise one might have difficulties
with her later. By this, the old woman most probably was
thinking of the possibility of sirl' problems arising. The fact
that these characters marry, while docile individuals frequent-
ly remain unmarried, points to the fact that the older people
in their selections follow the path of least resistance. The
types from whom the most difficulties are to be expected have
a better chance of marrying.

[581] The men with the personal qualities that are most /165/
appreciated and the women with the personal qualities that are
least appreciated have the best chances of marrying.

565 It is believed that the karaeng always possess a high de-
156 gree of the personal qualities appreciated in a man. Their
581 opportunities to marry are greater than those of an ordinary
man; a marriage to a lower woman is a frequent phenomenon.
Figures dealing with the unmarried in this group are not
available, however.

The Koro Phenomenon

826 Koro is the Makassarese name for the disease symptom in
158 which a man believes that his penis is shrinking and will turn

595 /171 cont./ The latter feel responsible for the successful course
606 of affairs in his first marriage, and accordingly they have an
607 attitude of disapproval toward a second marriage, since a
[58] lasting monogamous marriage is, after all, regarded as one of
the ideals of a successful marriage. When a second marriage
has come about through silariang, they show their disapproval
and frequently support the first wife. They yield only if the
[554] man appears to have enough authority to prepare and to carry
out his second marriage independently with his "own people."
That is to say, he has a house built for his second wife, or
else he buys one; and secondly, he is able to organize a
wedding festival on his own, even if it is a small feast. If a
man enjoys that much standing and if he possesses that much
organizational talent, then his relatives are not merely content
[557] with this second marriage. On the contrary, then they even
prize him because the festive celebration of a second marriage
is a sign of his personal standing by which his kinsmen also
rise in standing. /172/

In such a case, therefore, the first spouse can expect
little support from his relatives, and only consolation from
her own closest kinsmen. The latter merely try to minimize
the importance of this event, which is sad for her personally,
and to make her accept it as well as possible. There is no
question of any moral disapproval of the man's action. Such
is the situation in the adat community of Borongloë.

585 In the karaëng related group, more second marriages are
595 contracted, especially with women of lower blood. These
men have less resistance to overcome. In the kampongs of
the ordinary man everyone wages his struggle to gain more
standing, and thus for a good marriage for his children. In
general, common people do not like to have a girl marry a
man who is already married. But if the difference in blood is
generally recognized, as it is between a karaëng and a girl
[557] from one of the many groups of relatives of the people, then
the latter do not feel such a marriage as a subordination, because
in such a situation the girl and her relatives even rise in
standing.

565 /172 cont. / standing. This is what underlies their thoughts
595 when members of the karaeng's kin group declare that lower people consider it an honor to give away their daughter in marriage to a nobleman.

A border line where people like to see their daughter or sister marry a superior who is already married, and where the superior is actually regarded as almost an equal and therefore the marriage is not desired cannot be exactly determined. The boundaries between the classes /standen, here statuses? / are too vague for this.

554 Exceptional qualities are therefore demanded of a man
595 who has two wives. Through the conclusion of a second marriage he shows that he raises himself above his other relatives. This fact is not appreciated and is therefore counteracted unless he otherwise contributes particularly to the social standing of the group. If this should be the case, and and if he is able to show this through organizing a second marriage independently, then it is even accepted with a certain pride. There are always a number of men with less exceptional characteristics who wish to take a second wife. The silariang institution gives them the opportunity of doing so without their having to ask the help of their relatives. In these cases, however, his relatives accept this marriage with greater hesitation.

/173/

Second Part

Sexual Union in Marriage

582 In the first part of this chapter, the criteria of selection were pointed out which the older generation applies on the basis of younger people's personal qualities in the choice of

177 /198 cont./ bride who clearly enjoyed the bouquet of white
585 carnations that she had received from him. Arm in arm they stepped into the car which took them to the next event in the festivities at his family's house.

There their gaiety collided with the Makassarese world which demands of the woman that she cry and show herself averse to her husband-to-be. The bride changed her clothing; she received the Makassarese bridal costume with the head-dress belonging to it, and was made up in a manner appropriate to it. When a moment later her bridegroom appeared and risked a joke, he was angrily put in his place. She turned away from him, and, as a good Makassarese bride, she henceforth sat motionless with closed eyes amidst the women, and at appropriate moments she displayed her aversion to her bridegroom in a self-composed manner, completely in accordance with the manner in which the Makassarese feelings must be expressed in this situation.

Child Marriage

584 The marriage policy of the older people permits even sexually immature children to marry. In so doing, they believe that they are keeping a marriage, judged desirable by them from not taking place. The reason that a marriage desired by them does not take place is to be found, in the first place, in the opposition of the individuals concerned -- the opposition of as yet sexually immature children practically does not have to be taken into account --, and in the second instance, in a request made by a higher person.

554 A request by the religious official or by someone with
565 karaeng blood in his veins to an ordinary kampong man can
584 be made on behalf of a kinsman belonging to this higher person -- and in that case there will generally be no reason for refusal --. But it may also be made on behalf of a lower person, one of his followers, or for a close associate. Refusal

554 /198 cont./ in such a case also implies an insult to the
565 superior. To avoid the difficulties /199/ that would arise
584 through such a request, one lets the child marry especially
young.

565 There are indications that relatively most child marriages
584 are contracted in the karaeng related group, that only a small
number are contracted in that of the adat community heads,
and extremely few among the ordinary kampong people. To
have one's children marry at an early age is regarded as an
expression of gentility.

114 In my opinion reliable figures can be obtained only
127 through verbal information gathered for each group of relatives.
582 The marriage registers are particularly useless for this pur-
pose, first of all, because the age of bride and bridegroom
are generally recorded there only "approximately"; and
secondly, because all religious officials charged with filling
out the marriage registers know that the administration does
not like to see child marriages and therefore raise their
estimate in this special case. For this reason, the age of a
scarcely ten-year-old bride was registered as fourteen (1).

1. The father of this
girl, a very special
figure ahead of his time,
had recorded the birth
dates of his children in
a notebook, and therefore
a check was possible in
this special case.

582 Just as in western Europe the word "slave" frequently
593 cannot be thought of without being connected with slave
traders or slave transports, so the term "child marriage" is
frequently linked with the conception of a sexually immature
girl married to an adult man and forced by the latter to

582 /205 cont./ widower, where the widow and widower had re-married and lived together in one house with the children from their respective first marriages, was not carried out in the city of Macassar until the Kali of Macassar declared that no Moslem legal objections existed against this marriage. In Goa, after some hesitation, such a marriage was not sealed. The chance for an unfavorable outcome was regarded as too great.

[584] Where two young people living in the same house have a chance of being married, as happens once in a while in the populous houses of headmen, one of them is sent elsewhere beforehand and is made to marry from there.

[601
593] A marriage between relatives who do not belong to the same generation is regarded as unfavorable. Husband and wife are regarded as belonging to the same generation. If, genealogically viewed, they belong to a different generation, there arises in the beginning of the marriage an uncertainty with respect to social forms and terms of address, which after a while disappears as forms and terms are adapted to the new relationship. Where man and wife stated that they were members of the same generation, whereas later it appeared that a difference of generations existed between them, it was found unpleasant to be reminded of this irregularity in kinship relations. The conflict which had already become buried revived, as it were, by such an observation.

Where a difference in generations between man and wife is observable, in almost all cases the man belongs to the older generation.

The marriage of a man to a cousin of the fourth degree (samposikali) or to a cousin of the tenth degree is regarded by many as an "ordinary" marriage, but a few regard it as

[565] unfavorable. In /206/ the karaeng group of relatives, marriages between relatives of the fourth degree occur with greater frequency than in Boronglo. In these circles greater

565/206 cont. / value is placed, as they say, upon keeping the
582 blood pure and the goods together. There this marriage is
therefore not regarded as unfavorable. In the higher classes,
one can observe the tendency toward contracting marriages
between closer relatives.

587 A marriage to someone who has already been married
(a widower or divorced man) is regarded as unfavorable.
The fact that the first marriage failed is ascribed to a lack
of "pitjuru" (luck-bringing means), unless a special reason
can be shown. The idea that an individual is as he is, and
[828] that he himself can change little about this, explains fears
that the second marriage will fail for the same reason.
Attempts are made to dismiss any thoughts of the first
marriage by having the second marriage take place from
another house, by choosing another bride's mother, and by
making other changes. The best attitude imaginable is
therefore thought to be that of a remarrying bridegroom who
said, "I am going to begin a new life." This man was pre-
pared to react differently in this second marriage than in the
first, at which time he submitted with great aversion to all
the ritual, gave his bride a rough tap on the back at the
first touch, and in all possible ways made his dislike of this
marriage apparent.

A woman prefers not to marry a man who has already
been married, as the following verse (kelong) testifies,
where a young woman is introduced saying:
[539] "I would rather be a fallow
piece of land, an unplowed
sown field, than having a
buffalo run over me who has
already been under the yoke
once."

[576] Actually, it would be very crude if a girl were to recite
this verse. This is only done by older people when it suits
them at a certain moment in their marriage policy.

582

/206 cont./ The marriage of an oldest son in a family to the oldest daughter of another is regarded as unfavorable (1), even if both are cousins of the sixth degree, for instance.

1. Makassarese:

Ulua siang ulua
nabambang.

/207/ If a couple is married, the marriage of the husband's brother to a sister of his wife is considered unfavorable. This is called "piling up bamboos" (tambung palapa). This marriage occurred in the karaeng group of relatives. The marriage partners were first cousins, probably a sign of a limited choice of marriage partners. It is unclear whether this marriage was also regarded as unfavorable by karaeng.

When a couple is married, the marriage of his sister to a brother of the wife is considered unfavorable. This is called "the closing of the crossbeam" (sisuluru palangga). Instances of this in Borongloë are unknown to me.

The marriage of a man to the sister of his wife is forbidden. This prohibition is based upon Moslem law (1).

1. See T. W. Juynboll,
Handleiding tot de kennis
van de Mohammedaansche
Wet volgens de leer der
Sjāfi'itische school /Guide
to the Knowledge of the
Mohammedan Way accord-
ing to the Dogma of the
Shafiite School/, third
edition, 1925, p. 185.

The marriage of a man and woman who as children were nursed by the same woman is regarded as prohibited in some cases. The prohibition is based upon Moslem dogma (1).

1. Ibid.

853/208 cont. /

862

she begins to wean her youngest. The reason for still nursing her child of about two-and-one-half years who is able to walk, according to the mother, was that she was not yet pregnant. A child that already walks and plays but who still drinks from the mother's breast often turns out to be her youngest. A woman had continued to feed her first child (seven months old) while she was expecting her second. When the milk flow decreased, this child regressed considerably physically, since it was still taking little extra food. Only after the birth of the second one, when the mother was feeding both children, did the first one regain strength. This case must be regarded as an exception, however.

862

Weaning is done by means of a bitter fluid smeared on the nipple, which brings quick results. A woman was urging her child to suck even though she had just previously smeared her nipple. Later, when it was offered the breast, the child refused violently.

853

● [565]

A wet nurse (anrong pasusu) is only to be found in karaeng circles. She is spoken of as

853 / 208 cont. /

amma'daeng (mother daeng). Being a wet nurse is called hereditary, in the sense that one likes to see that where a woman has a nurse; the daughter of this nurse is again the wet nurse for the daughter of this woman. A young mother of high nobility is said to be modern if she nurses the child herself.

A marriage of a noble person with someone who is related by suckling kinship to him is out of the question.

582

Finally, it is considered natural to marry a kinsman. In the case of marriage to someone who is not related there is mutual insecurity. Such a marriage always has a practical purpose. People want to extend the circle of their connections, and sometimes it is believed to serve one's aspirations to rise best of all in this fashion. But in the case of such a marriage, the chance of failure is considered greater than in that to a kinsman. "Do not creep out" (teako alamba assulukii) is said to one who has plans of marrying off his child outside the kin group.

Since a marriage to a non-kinsman, to a person of a different generation, and to a contemporary of the fourth and the tenth degree, is always regarded as unfavorable, there remains merely the possibility of marriage between contemporaries of the sixth and eighth degree. That is the marriage which, according to the figures given above (see pages 29 and 30), is, at the same time, the most frequent.

554 /210 cont./ A woman "may not go down." Impairment of
[558] her social standing constitutes for her male relatives, and
especially for her brother, an affront to their striving to rise.
They are injured in one of the very few fixed points which they
possess.

● 565 A Makassarese stands in a relationship of cooperation to
a superior or an inferior. High and low have common interests.
Together they are best able to realize their own aspirations to
rise. The lack of an opposition element lends their mutual
relationship an emotional security which is absent elsewhere.

554 An expression of competition between an inferior and a
565 superior entails an impairment of existing relationships between
high and low. The reaction to such an impairment is generally
a sharp repudiation. The superior tries to maintain existing
relationships because these give him emotional security which
he lacks elsewhere, because his attempts to rise can only be
successful through his tie with inferiors, and finally because
his rights and duties towards inferiors provide him with ad-
vantages that he does not like to be without.

684 Violation of contact prohibitions between a man and a
554 higher woman also signifies for a Makassarese an impairment
565 of an important, fixed point of comparison in his striving for
high /status/, and an impairment of the existing relation be-
tween high and low. Thus it means the impairment of two ele-
ments that are of essential importance to him in his culture.
He faces a situation with which he feels himself unable to cope,
and in his opinion there remains nothing else to do than to
kill the person who has done this to him (adjallo').

That a violation of the contact prohibition between a man
and a higher woman is indicated by the same term as that be-
tween members of the same family /in narrow sense/ probably
means only that it is regarded as equally serious.

554 Such violation is therefore more serious than if contact
684 prohibitions are violated between equals or near equals. In the

[95 cont.]

793 special priestesses in the service of these objects. These orna-
[293] ments, especially the gaoekang, must have been the origin of
772 the position of the Karaëng. First of all, the original finder was
[74] the guardian of the holy object; a house was built for it, and
other articles added to it. Lands, "ornament lands," also were
reserved for the holy object, of which the guardian at first had
the usufruct, but eventually they came to be regarded as his
property. [96] His power was extended more and more because
he enjoyed a kind of religious veneration. For a long time this
gaoekang institution, as Mr. van Vollenhoven calls it, was prob-

[636] ably the only native jurisdictional community on southern
634 Celebes. It was also recognized as such by the Government and
given the name of regency or district. In the eyes of the people,
however, the district chiefs and regents still derive their posi-
tion from the possession of ornaments. Some of the ornament-
[53] ships united into confederacies, which in turn united to form
larger kingdoms, such as Boni and Gowa, whose princes, as
well as their ornaments, are said to have come from heaven.

565 From this it follows that among the Buginese and
Makassarese the social classes in the society were the princes,
the nobility, the middle class, and the lowest, among whom
formerly were the slaves. This division is much sharper among
the Buginese than among the Makassarese. A special feature
644 of their society was the follower-system, which arose because
many lesser people, in order to escape from the unjust treat-
ment and arbitrariness meted out to them by the anakaraëng,
sought the protection of those whose "followers" they became.
The follower was obliged to help his protector in agricultural
work, to give him little presents on special occasions, etc. In
exchange, the leader had the obligation to protect his client
in any event. The tie between the two was completely voluntary
and could be severed by either side.

[14] Family Law. Since the clans no longer exist and the
582 family has no great significance, there is no question of exogamy
583 among the Buginese and Makassarese. Eleutherogamy with the

1:Alkema & Bezemer--510 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia

New Guinea 051

Malasser	066	Java	0E1
Minangkabau	0D10	Buru	0H8
Javanese	0E5	Ceram	0H9
Tanimbar	0F19	Kei	0H13
Atjehnese	0P4	Enggano	0D6

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[457 cont.]

the woman; the woman appears in a different garment seven times, one after the other; etc. Usually only the tingkeb festival for the first pregnancy is given much notice.

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Among another Mohammedan people, the Buginese and [458] Makassarese, the same kind of festival is celebrated with great splendor in the seventh or eighth month by the families of the notables.

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In general, there are no festivities connected with the birth itself, but some peculiar customs are practiced. First of all, we should mention that among the Minangkabau Malaysians and the Javanese everything in the vicinity of the confinement must be opened, chests, hatches, etc., and crises must be taken out of the sheath, an example of the so-called sympathetic thought or transmigration doctrine. Among the Minangkabau, all men must leave the dwelling; on Java, on the other hand, custom demands that the man be present, even to the extent that, should the father be away from home at the time, a rice pestle, dressed to look like a man, is placed near the woman in child-bed. Another widespread custom is cutting the umbilical cord with a sharp piece of bamboo instead of a knife — probably a survival from the time before iron was known; old customs and implements are preserved longest in such ceremonies.

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The custom of not allowing the confinement to take place in the house, but in a specially prepared little hut in the forest is found on some of the eastern islands, namely, on Ceram, Buru, Kei and Tanimbar Islands, and New Guinea; it is also found on the small island of Enggano in the west of the archipelago (west of Sumatra's southern point), where the woman in childbed is taken to the forest or to a secluded place near the dwelling.

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Finally, mention should be made of the peculiar, but widespread custom of subjecting the woman to the action of a gentle fire for a considerable time after the confinement, one could almost say a kind of roasting. This is customary, for example, among the Atjehnese. "She who is busy drying herself over the fire," the person "who is lying by the hearth" are

Batak 025
Makassar 066 ●

B [416 cont.]

565 Among the Batak, too—as a reminder, they are divided
 554 into two standings, the namora-mora and the halak na djađi—
 551 the custom of assuming a galar exists. They have probably
 adopted it from the Malays, although in a different form. The
 differentiation into galar pusaka and galar muda does not exist
 here, and there is only one kind, which is like the galar muda
 and is used with the nama kètè. It also consists of two parts, the
 title and the description. The usual title is dja, an abbreviation
 of radja, for example, Dja porkis, Dja langit, etc. The galar
 here, however, is not limited to the nobility, but is borne by
 many of the common people, especially by the well-to-do. [417]
 The namora-mora, and particularly those who are closely re-
 lated to the sovereign, change the galar in later life, when as-
 suming office, when marrying, etc., for another whose title is
baginda, sutan, mangaradja, pertuwan, etc., as follows:
Pertuwan sangkupan, Sutan ganga alam, etc. Often two titles
 are combined, such as Sutan mangaradja, Djona alam, etc. The
 title of the galar usually stays in the family [geslacht] in the
 sense that it passes from father to grandson. If the father has the
 title pertuwan, then his son is not pertuwan, but sutan, the grand-
 son pertuwan, the great-grandson sutan, etc. Persons without a
 title have si in front of their name.

e. Celebes

MK
 ● 565 Among the Buginese and Makassarese, too, the nobility
 643 is quite sharply distinguished from the common class. Members
 [562] of the royal family have the title karaëng among the Makassarese,
 and arung or patta or opis among the Buginese. Both titles are
 borne by men and women. The ruling sovereigns, male and
 female, have such titles, but with the addition of mágaú Bug. and
mangkaú Mak., thus, karaëng mágaú and arung mangkaú. Princes
 MK and princesses of high birth who may be considered for the succes-
 [554] sion are called patola instead of karaëng or arung. There is a

[417 cont.]

565 number of titles for the other princes and royal persons, but we
 643 shall not discuss them here. The most common title for a noble
 554 person who does not belong to the royal family is daëng among
 both peoples. This title originally indicated someone of high
 birth, but later it was assumed out of self-conceit and lost much
 of its importance. Buginese and Makassarese who have a right to
 this title, however, are very proud of it, and when they have
 risen to some office, they would rather be addressed as daëng
 than by their official title. Daëng is also a title for women. A
 native always addresses his wife and older sisters by it, unless
 they are of royal blood, thus are karaëng. Another noble title,
 although less exalted than daëng, is the Makassarese [418] kare.
 We have already seen how people from the common class are
 addressed.

643 Just as we have noted for the Javanese and Sumatran
 293 sovereigns, every ruling sovereign here has his decorations,
 called kalompuang, or the so-called ornaments. They consist of
 various objects, such as long kris, guns, shields, badju rante =
 coat of mail, betel boxes with cuspidors, parasols, etc. Among
 all the objects, however, one is the most important. It is
 called gangkang and is generally a strange sort of thing that ac-
 cording to tradition was found in a mysterious way where the
 seat of the state was established. Thus, there is a gangkang that
 is a wild tuber of peculiar shape; another one is a small golden
 image, and in still another one can recognize an old, worn-out
 793 paintbrush. All these ornaments, and the gangkang in particular,
 778 are venerated; feasts are even given in their honor. Also, priests
 are appointed to take care of them.

643 The sovereign derives his authority from those ornaments.
 778 For example, to remove the sovereign during a revolt, an at-
 669 tempt is made to gain possession of the ornaments. If this suc-
 ceeds, he has been virtually deprived of his authority.

EDITOR'S NOTE

Ranking of Nobles (Buginese)

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	ana' matola	}	(crown) prince(cess) of highest blood
	↓		Child: ana'radjeng, chil- dren of pure blood
	tjera' tjinting		
	tjera' dua		- two
	tjera' telu		- three
ana' apona ma'	tjera' eppe		- four
padjunge-descendants	tjera' lima		- five
(grandchildren) of the	tjera' eneng		- six
King	tjera' tudju(pitu)		- seven

(Now: only up to tjera' lima)

↓
to detjeng -well-to-do people,
commoners

(down to tjera' eppe' - real nobles)

him stands the kampong chief. The latter calls for a vote, and each elder votes, his family members invariably voting on his side. They are not formally designated, it seems that each of the elders is approximately equivalent to the head of an extended family, though perhaps not all of his clingers-on are his relatives. And voting is by such blocs. Perhaps this is changing? For example, suppose a man like Rahim is against his father's vote, and thus the family bloc splits.

While Rahim was talking in Makassarese I questioned van Heekeren further. He said that he thought most, if not all, kampong folks still were very firm in their beliefs in the karaeng's mana. Finally, after the old man said that he was willing to help out on the project, we started to leave. As we did, the storekeeper invited us all to his store next door. Before this, children gathered at the front door and the old man shooed them away. He kept ordering people around too. For example, he told one to lay a cloth over a broken place in the roof where the sun was striking van-Heekeren.

The store has a brick underwall, and a house above. It appears good and cool. The keeper prepared an ice and berry soda. He kept filling the glasses. They always accepted my cigarettes. We sat around a table and Rahim talked further, as van Heekeren and I listened or talked between ourselves. We sat for a long time.

I saw a school book which was reminiscent of the United States. It was for the first grade, and for Malay. Rahim said it was used in the village school, which we saw later in a larger kampong opposite the mosque (earlier we had seen the Mohammedan school, also in a good building), and it appeared to be a large and rather good structure in the usual style, i.e., a white building. Rahim said that they used Makassarese throughout the six grades of local schooling, but began Malay slowly with the first grade. After the sixth grade, they have to go to Makassar if they wish further schooling. I asked about a bus. None comes to this kampong, [i.e., Balombaru--Analyst] but one goes to Sungguminasa, and could be gotten on the main road, which incidentally is quite a walk. As usual, evidently, children must walk rather far. A girl about nine or ten came in from the school later. That bus costs 15 guilders per month. [15 rupiah, f.15] I asked about the use of the old Makassarese script. Rahim said that its use and the knowledge thereof are quite general. He added that there was a press in Makassar.

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Makassar 006

Sadang 008

Makassarese-Buginese: Van Heekeren says that there has been a change in ruler rights. Formerly for example, if the ruler of Goa wanted a good horse of a commoner he would say to that man, "Yours is a fine horse", and the man would say, "It is not mine but yours". Now, the ruler still gets what he wants, for example the horse, but he pays for it, say f 50. Thus there seems to be a gradual change.

Sadang: The following information is from a man named Heeren, a sociologist from Amsterdam, now a high school teacher in Makassar and working on his dissertation on a village northwest of Rantepao. His village, he says, is pretty well spread out like all of Sadang now. Formerly they lived on high hills but it was difficult to carry water to these positions and they had to leave their buffaloes below where they were easily stolen by the Buginese. They still have a feast and ceremony of driving off all Buginese evil. This is called mabugi. There are about eighty houses in this village including some large ones, and thus a big population. According to Heeren one sees mostly sawah at first, but then one begins to note behind hedges and so forth, houses including very ornate structures. These houses are a couple of hundred meters apart and around them are evidently gardens. Rice barns are important because they show wealth. The village extends for about 10 miles by one mile. He chose this village because at Rantepao there is no puang, and thus there are fewer complications. There are tomakaka, commoners, and slaves. The most important feasts are the death feasts. They have a long street, not for cars, and up from it on a hill lie the houses. There are two plazas, rante, and here they celebrate such feasts. Here also are located scores of stone pillars, some three to four meters high. Buffaloes are tied to these pillars. Great debts are accumulated by sacrificing buffaloes. Each family tries to outdo the others in potlatch fashion, and after some sixty-three buffaloes for example, are killed, they will sell their rice fields and go into debt. There is a tremendous amount of waste. It seems that giving buffaloes to others requires return later and they try to outdo each other like the Kwakiutl. There is always a great fuss over property ownership. Heeren said that there are only three puang, and he thinks they came in about the fifteenth century (van Wouden thinks that they are native like the tomokaka, but that the idea came in from the Buginese). He said that he has many Sadang students in Makassar, and as in the homeland they are keen for education.

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noticeable in the Kepala kampung's house. Here everything had an official air about it. He is perhaps a good man to get to know better, to see to what extent he would get the United States idea. For example, how would the Truman story go over with him? We talked stiffly (was it my fault?) and the whole thing was not too impressive. (I later found out that he is a Dutch speaker too) He spoke only Malay. I wonder if the presence of Rahim, obviously a superior in essentials, might have thrown him off? I have plenty to talk about to Rahim.

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I saw for the first time the ramp [instead of stairs, a noble has a sloping ramp made of woven bamboo--Analyst] of the superiors. The Kepala kampung had one. Note, however, that the Imam had none. All through Makassarese and Buginese lands there are many such ramps. I almost fell down the one at the Kepala kampung's place. I might ask him why he keeps such a thing when steps are so much better.

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At the Karaeng's place I found out what the name for sociology in Indonesian is. Rahim tried very hard, and finally said "ilmu bangsa-bangsa".

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I asked Rahim about the Karaeng. He said that they went to school together and played football, [i. e., soccer] but as they grew older this intimate relationship was not continued. Now they must observe the adat. My guess is that the Karaeng knows now that Rahim is a better man. One thing Rahim said quite often was that they were quite proud of him in this area because he has gone so far. That in itself is a very interesting thing, and perhaps this fellow is almost the most important in South Celebes.

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I went back to the Karaeng's office at noon. I will give copies of my questions to the Karaeng as well as to the Kepala kampung. Rahim said that the Karaeng was ana tino [i. e., the pure children of the highest Makassarese nobles--Analyst] as I remember it. He is not one of the bate selapang [i. e., the nine-electors of Goa--Analyst] as I first thought.

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The assistant will get to work Thursday, and I will return here August 28th to work with him.

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Field trip to the Makale region [Sadang country]: I started Wednesday, August 17th, from Makassar. The road north to Parepare is very good. The Buginese villages are much the same in appearance as the Makassarese ones. In Parepare, which is a big place and about half way to Makale, the plaza was filled with people and there was a parade going on. There were some men marching, but most of the participants were

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133 Bone trip (first): Started August 27, 1949 (left Makale
491 early August 26th and drove to Rantepao and thence to Paloppo).

361 The road took me across great mountains. I could see end-
less curves below, and enormous valleys, and later in the dis-
tance the sea. The road itself was bad. Here, as on the west
coast, there is a stretch of almost uninhabited mountain-land
between the Sadang country and the Buginese coastal country.
There are few villages. Paloppo is a large town on the coast
and an administrative center.

491 Going on from Paloppo the road is bad and endless but level,
162 leading to Sengkang. Around Paloppo I still noticed plenty of
Sadang, or at least Toradja people. But gradually the scene
142 changed to Buginese.

I had a good lunch at a fine pasanggrahan. Sengkang, which
is the center of Wadjo, seemed to be populated by a number of
people of negroid type. To the north, around Paloppo, I
noticed that there were pretty girls all over. Along the Wadjo
belt, however, men have beetling brows and are dark, and
the women are not so pretty. Later, in Bone, the women
291 again were impressively fine. I also noted the change to the
wonderful flaming Buginese dress of the women. Feasts
565 were going on in many houses, and all along the road girls
224 and women were beautifully dressed, and often on horses led
342 by men. They are evidently nobles (I have read that some
181 never touch the ground). Also, the houses have ramps. A
thought: I will call this "The Adat Country". It [custom law]
stands out all over, with Bontorio influence, e.g., men with
great head cloths on horseback, and many with lassos and
lances, evidently deer hunting.

857 I noticed that the children didn't shout as much as the
609 Sadang children did when I passed by. But everywhere I go
576 people stare so!

As I got to Bone the road got better although it is not sur-
491 faced. The Radja is said to be keen on roads.

124 I arrived [in Bone--Analyst] in the evening, tired to the bone,
and hence ate very little. I got a good room in the pasanggra-
han, but again in the rear with children, fowls, awful all-
night cocks, and screeching flying foxes making for hideous
nights with little improvement during the day. I slept some
and the next morning went to see the assistant resident, de
Graaff, who at once appeared to be friendly. I went to see
him at the new brick schoolhouse, the "pride of Bone". There
I also met a man who was formerly in foreign affairs, an old
[292] fellow with a mustache, and Aru Matjege (makadang-atana, a
talking chief of the land), a young man in the dress of the high
class--horsehair, woven, with gold bordered songkok. Then

we went to de Graaff's house for a conference. He called in the information man who was also in noble dress. He was old and lean and impressive. His name is Sulewatang Udjung. There were a few others including his son, Andi Pabara. They decided that the best kampong would be near Pampanua, but I said that that would be too far so they then decided on one on the border of Watampone, Bukaka. Andi was chosen as an assistant. There was much talk and the controleurs came in, Kollewijn and Thierens, both fine men and the Buginese should be glad they have them.

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I made long speeches in Dutch and Malay (how silly of me to have thought that I could use English here!) regarding the need in the United States of knowing more about Bone, United States customs, my project, and so forth. Everyone seemed well impressed. The Dutch acted very fine and spent all morning helping me. After much encouraging talk we went to the Arumpone the biggest "medicine" in South Celebes. He lives in a not too impressive house. There is no palace here. The Sulewatang said later that he formerly had the present house of the Assistant Resident. And that house was also not up to Standard Oil standards. The Arumpone's house has an equally large pavilion separated into two parts, in one of which sits the great aradjang and in the other the guests. The Arumpone talked quite a bit of American journalists, especially those who had visited Bone before dying in a plane crash in India. He showed me a photograph of himself taken with them. The Assistant Resident said later that the Arumpone said he was impressed by my speaking in Indonesian and had been critical of the journalists who come here and do "research" without any language facility. The Arumpone is a dignified fellow about fifty, wearing a uniform which looks somewhat like a general's, and a fine yellow songkok. He had two gold pens. He said he was going to Buton tomorrow, and seemed very proud. He said I must come again and take a photograph (that camera!). He is reputed to be a conservative. Also, he is not up to the blood of the deposed and exiled-to-Rantepao former arum. Later Thierens said to me that the Arumpone here lived in fear of intrigue, and that when one of the Aru Pitu [the seven princes of Bone] was around, he shuts up. Thierens also said that this was not too different from the intrigue against the arumpone in Bontorio. The present Arumpone is the head of the Hadat tinggi (House of Lords with veto power) in Makassar. This Hadat tinggi is for all of South Celebes (Sulawesi Selatan). The second man in the Hadat tinggi is the Goa radja. I met the Tomarilalang, the

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The Assistant Resident said that his work was not too hard and that Andi could also work for me. Thus it goes. The Kepala kampong is a fat fellow with a yellow turban. He is called "Mado" which is the Buginese term for Kepala kampong, or rather, Mado Bukaka. His house is not bad, with a ramp on the side structure, but stairs going up into the main part of it. He is no noble, nor are there any bangsawan [titled nobles] in the village. When Sulewatang Udjung ordered, he called together the kali guru [teachers], and notables (the Sulewatang later told me that family heads are also important). They are a motley crew. They came in and sat around on chairs. The Sulewatang, Andi, the magistrates, and I sat around a table. Coffee and cookies were served. They all listened well and the guru, a good looking young man, seemed especially intelligent. The Sulewatang gave an opening address and I joined in with more and more comments regarding the United States and the need for knowledge of South Celebes. They were quite silent, but one or two nodded and smiled continuously. I got the idea that they will do what they are told. They too were fascinated by my camera. Also, as usual, they plaintively asked (as asked by the Sulewatang) why things are so expensive and hard to get in Celebes, when there is obviously so much of everything in the United States. They are greatly interested in this matter. I tried to explain the fact that the dollar is high and the rupiah low, and also about the foreign exchange currency control. They got the main point. We then went over my notes (I had gone over the Friedericy notes with the Sulewatang the night before). They got the idea and it seems that they want to appear as both modern and as good Mohammedans, as they always shied away at questions regarding such things as spirit belief, old type feasts, and offerings. This was especially true of the Sulewatang, who always said that formerly such and such a practice may have been observed here and perhaps at present is still observed in the mountains, but in this place and at the present time it does not exist. I was told that such practices were mere legends now, but they admitted that in most cases the people still knew about them.

The next day I talked with the controleur. He showed me the perkara [legal case] records of the office here. In Wadjo, Bone and Soppeng combined there are over one thousand legal cases per year. Many of these pertain to horse and cattle stealing, which is an old custom here. I saw one decision: six months in jail.

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C the city government. Maybe I am too hard, but it lines up
647 with my steady claim: let them have democracy, but let them
563 realize that they must pay for and use expert direction. And
152 above all, they must work and learn. There are quite a few
829 Dutch teachers around here in government schools, and that,
to me, is good. I hope they stay. I do not know where they
will get the money to pay them in a land run by economic
illiterates. They try all sorts of ideas. I note that they often
ask me why the United States does not help. For example,
Andi said, "Why was it that the United States or some American
firm did not build a factory in Makassar." I told him
frankly that the reason was that there was no money to be
made in South Celebes and that they would not come unless
they could see certain profit. For example, who here could
buy cars and other manufactured products? He took it well.
Another interesting thing here is the way they are not at all
bashful about the price of things. Everything I have they want
to know the price of. This is especially true of the old
Sulewatang. However, I met doctors at the beach, and they
were rather sophisticated. And still they wanted at once to
know the price of my camera as everyone else does. The old
Sulewatang came into my room today and looked at everything,
asking the price of each object. He commented that
everything was wonderful. He also asked if I could not get
some of the things he was handling for him! Thus, he obviously
wanted my pencil, and whatever else I had. He asked
if I could not get him just a small raincoat like I had. I have
to be careful, but I manage to turn them off.

M To get back to the first kampong trip, and also to my talk
565 with the Sulewatang at his home the evening before; he told
759 me that it was easy for anyone to know what per cent of blood
829 was in any individual. Thus everything is figured out in per
773 cent. He used the word "pro sen"! Thus if someone who is
100 per cent marries someone who is 50 per cent, the children
are 75 per cent. And if someone who is 50 per cent
marries someone who is 25 per cent, then the children are
35 per cent (he noted that you just cut the difference!). Thus
the notable class consciousness is perhaps clearer here than
anywhere else. To what degree is magic power involved? He
agreed that there is practically no pure blood royalty in Bone.
He knew well the stories of heaven descent, the names of gods,
and so forth. I wonder if his son knows about them too? He
said that the sanro [a type of native doctor] are still in. Some
are doctors, that is, healers. This is all in line. He said
that some of them were half men, and seemed to agree that

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this was concerned with the sky-earth complex. He said that they had drum beaters and danceresses (padjoge). He said if we wanted to give a party we could call them in.

The bride price is still in use, but evidently it may be omitted if there is an agreement beforehand and the two individuals want to get married. There is evidently much class difference regarding these things. The proper way is supposed to be followed by the uppers. The poor may not be able to do so.

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Regarding houses and class rules, the Sulewatang said that there was plenty of non-legitimate use of building styles, but that in the old days stricter regulations were followed. For example, today there are many non-noble people who use the ramp. The Sulewatang tried to point out the falsities in construction saying that these were not proper ramps. Still, I thought, the use of the ramp is so general that it shows a desire on the part of the non-noble to ape noble behavior without reaching a taboo by making it exactly correct. In the village there is said to be plenty of game around such as deer. Deer are hunted with lance and lasso and horse and dog.

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I was told that they had never heard of bark cloth.

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There are reportedly no smiths in the village but there were some in the village to the north (we went there and saw the smithy, but the smith was not in). They are said to all come from Sidenreng.

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Every woman in the village is a weaver and they wear a great deal of spun woven material. For example, the Kepala kampong and others showed us sarongs, all of which were woven by the local women. It is said that there is a loom in every house. The pottery makers are said to be found in one place in the town. There are also many weavers of mats and baskets. But near the town there are not so many. Aside from brick factories (one owned by the Kepala kampong) there is a bread factory.

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Goldsmiths are found only in town. This place is evidently too near Watampone to have a roster of artisans and specialists, but in the more remote kampongs such local specialization must exist.

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I got into a hard discussion regarding the dividing of children. At first they insisted that it was mainly used or, in fact, only used for slaves, that is, masters divided children. Therefore, this custom was no longer to be observed. However, I forced them to explain more about it and there is evidently something here. But Mohammedan pride is causing a bit of sensitivity, I can see.

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184 Regarding the sewing of the bride's upper garment to the
292 hat of the groom under a sarong at marriage, they said that
585 this was proper, and the old Sulewatang said that it had been
114 done to him when he was married. But evidently much of the
adat is not carried out for the ordinary folk. I get the idea
● 565 more and more that Dutch ethnography is mainly concerned
with the behavior of those in the upper classes, and little at-
tention has been paid to the common man, to whom little in
the way of elaborate ceremonialism happens. Thus the com-
mon man may have a wedding utterly unlike the brilliant ones
described. I think I can see the basic fault in this class-
stratified place.

372 As for fire eating and the fire eating dance, they say they
177 have never heard of it. Time and again they said that per-
764 haps such behavior took place in the mountains or a long
173 while ago but not here or now. Thus this place has lost much
184 of the old and maybe I should have chosen Soppeng or a place
even more remote. But this is acculturation, and what hap-
pens here now will come there later. If I get a chance I must
take a look or talk with people from remoter places. On my
way down from Paloppo I saw things all over that looked more
like my notes than what I see here in Watampone and in the
village. When asked, they said that there were no buffalo kil-
lings at funerals, and said that such practices must have been
at least three hundred years ago. This was the time Moham-
771 medans first came in to South Celebes, and evidently a date
184 in their minds. The Sulewatang knew of tampakoro [small,
playful, frizzly-haired, little devils or imps which are be-
lieved to do no evil of any consequence] and of La-Galigo [a
Buginese mythical hero about whom there is a long heroic
poem, the Sura La-Galigo], and the like. Most men, how-
ever, seem not to know anything about them. Thus there is
a clear difference according to age. But everyone knew
about saradasi (magic), and laughed when I said it. And so
this lives on. When I mentioned rewata [Buginese term for
God] and sumanga [semangat? 'soul'] and such spirit beliefs,
the Sulewatang said that they existed only in the legends and
stories today, for example, in fairy tales. But when I asked
if perhaps some of the common folk did not still believe in
these things, he was a little disturbed. He said that this
still may be in the mountains. Thus this is a peculiar busi-
ness and I am sure I touched spots that could bear deep re-
search, for which I have no time.

000 For names and titles and functions of the Bone state
officials (central) see my penciled notes [missing].

- 621 the border of wanua Palaka, kampong Tjabalu on the west,
it is four kilometers also. This western part is thus a
632 square. On the east side of the road, along the Watampone
101 border, it is only six hundred meters along the street to
131 the Ta border. But then the east border sweeps eastward in
102 a long curve so that on the northern side along the border of
Tjelapa, the northern border runs two kilometers from the
main road. (See rough map, page 46, field notes)[P.266 here]
- 871 There are two schools in Bukaka, one a religious school
435 and the other a village school. They are near the Watampone
556 border on the main road, or just off it. There are also ten
private Koran schools. There are about six hundred hadjis
here. I met one, a smug young man. And I teased him about
being one of the few rich men in town, but he said that it was
perhaps, if the family resources were pooled, six thousand
guilders. He remarked that ten thousand guilders was really
a great fortune here. Incidentally, the Sulewatang said that
the high figures given for the old days were somewhat off.
Prices were overvalued.
- 131 In the wanua, running eastward to the sea from Bukaka, are
361 the kampongs Penyula and Ta side by side; then Paopao,
Tibodjong (very small) and Tamaüsing, side by side; then
Toro, Tjelu, Lapobatua, Biru, and Palingorong, all side by
side (the latter two jut out to the south); then Badjoë and Maloi,
side by side (the former on the sea, the latter juts out to the
south); and finally, along the curve of the sea, Rompe. I for-
got to say that these really do not jut out, as Watampone is
also part of the wanua and it is to the south of Bukaka, Ta,
Tamaüsing. Thus the appearance seems to be roughly that
621 of a triangle. Aside from Watampone, each of the fifteen
kampongs has a kepala kampong. And within each of the kam-
pongs there are varying numbers of hamlets. Thus Bukaka
has three, Penyula has one, Ta three, Paopao two, Tibodjong
one, Tamaüsing one, Lapobatua one. I could not get any
information on the other kampongs, but will find out later. The
biggest kampongs, in order, are: Tjelu, Bukaka, Badjoë.
Others are small. Bukaka is the oldest.
- 368 The big misigit [mesjid, mosque] is used by Bukaka, Ta,
and Watampone. Other kampongs having misigit are: Penyula,
Badjoë, Paopao, Lapobatua, and Palingorong, thus there are
six in all.
- 632 In Bone, Andi says, there are twenty-one wanua. Seven
• 565 are ruled by aru, and fourteen by sulewatang. He says, how-
ever, that they are of equal rank. Aside from the aru wanua
there are the Aru Pitu, and this tells the story.

Rapotjini and Gusungdjonga. The imadn of the latter is the father of my assistant and he is also a hadji. He came in later and seemed like a good old fellow. There is no kampong council, and thus the situation is somewhat as it is in Bone. [623]

I asked what the kepala kampong did. I was told that in legal cases the kepala kampong made decisions himself, after the police of the local kampong had made the arrest. If he couldn't the case went to the karaeng. But there was no consultation. Also, if a problem comes up, the kepala kampong usually does not go into consultation with the seriang, but more likely with his own cronies. The only time all of the village is called together for discussion of opinion is at the time of an election when a great drum is beaten. 622 692 623 203

In addition to mosques, there are many surau, that is prayer houses, in each kampong. The Karawisi karaeng is not a member of the central administration of Goa. He is only a territorial ruler. Nevertheless, he is a very high noble, indeed, of the highest (ana'tino') rank. He could be a radja and his uncle is the present radja. The former karaeng in Karawisi was an ana'sipuwe, which is a lower rank. [346] 565 368

We went on to the discussion of Karawisi in the kingdom of Goa. The latter is divided into two divisions by a river [running east to west, the Djeneberang]. One section is the territory of the Bate Selapang (I think). In the other section there are over ten parasangan. The "nine" conquered the rest and removed the regular rulers and put in ordinary chiefs (I must check on this as it is not very clear). The bate are not noble, evidently, or at least they are not necessarily high nobles (I note that Friedericy has listed the title gallarang for several bate, and this is lower than a high noble). Thus the kiesheeren [i.e., literally, electoral college--Analyst] are of commoner class. Nowadays there is a radja. Rahim says all he does is signs his name. There is also a council of five men, like the seven princes of Bone, evidently. The Karaeng Karawisi is not in it. There is no council in the parasangan. 632 565 114

Rahim gave me a diagram of Goa as it was three hundred years ago. It goes as follows, as well as I can remember it. (See diagram, page 48, field notes) [the main division is between the people the rakyat associated with the earth and the leaders associated with heaven. At the top is the radja; with him there are forty princes called arong. There is also a pabitjarabutta at nearly the same level who is in charge of relations with aliens. Under the radja are two lesser leaders, the tumilalang lolo (lolo meaning evidently "younger") and the 175 565

M tumilalang toa. Orders of the radja to the people at
175 large go through the tumilalang toa, and requests of the
●565 people to the radja go through the tumilalang lolo.]

[14] The forty arong, as Friedericy wrote about them, seem to be silly; for example, the rope twisters. But he wrote about the ruination of a formerly great and important system. A real survival, perhaps. Now they no longer exist. As of 1905, however, they were still there in form and name. Formerly they were officials of great importance, each in charge of an important function of state, and of many men. For example, one had to get rowers for the large war praus, another had to see that rope (then very important) was provided, another was in charge of the mountain areas, another got dancers, and so forth. Friedericy wrote of the last weird phase, when the old rope official, for example, sat in the palace twisting a piece of rope pathetically. This certainly was a survival of former grandeur.

M I asked about the bissu [pagan priests, priestesses] and
793 their link with the gaokang [ornaments or regalia, possession
838 of which gives ruling power to Makassarese nobles. --Analyst]
231 This checks, but, as Friedericy says, there are no longer any
881 bi-sexual ones in Goa. There are male keepers, called pinati.
304 But they still exist for example in Segeri, and Rahim was there
574 for a big circumcision feast last week (why did I miss it?), and the homosexuals were there. It was evidently a mass affair, and Rahim said there was dancing, buffalo sacrifice, and boys expecting to be circumcised sitting on buffaloes which were to be slaughtered. (Could there be here a fine case of circumcision as a survival of blood sacrifice of humans?)

M Rahim told me much about the history of Goa, and how the
182 Dutch deliberately undermined the old custom law. I re-
771 minded him that Mohammedanism did this too, and he agreed. But, he said, Mohammedanism generally works along with the adat, and if an adat matter comes up at any point the Mohammedan religious phase is subordinated. Thus, if a radja is officiating at some big occasion the mosque may be nearly empty.

I Rahim said something which was remarkably like my own
181 idea. He said Celebes (and he meant South Celebes) is the adat part of Indonesia, par excellence. He said that you could make the following grouping:

Java - politics
Sumatra - religion
Borneo - trade and business
Celebes - adat

These are the preoccupations, and the Dutch, in order to rule

these areas, must pay attention to each of these preoccupations in each of the respective areas. If they are tampered with too much, they may cause revolution. And here we can see why, if Sukawati, the President of East Indonesia today, comes there is no excitement; but if the radja, representing adat, arrives there is much excitement. So I was right in thinking of calling the South Celebes section of my work "the adat land."

Regarding history, Rahim said that there is much material to be found in the lontar [old manuscript; from lontar or tala tree whose leaves were used for writing--Analyst]. He added that there was considerable material there on homo-sexual relations. He believes that it came from India. I said that it was probably from the same base, but that it was also probably here earlier.

In talking about adat, Rahim said that Goa is plenty adat conscious though he agreed that perhaps Wadjo was purer.

I asked about property. Anyone who is an Indonesian can buy land. And it is private. However, the radja has the right of eminent domain, and thus the land is tax liable. But this goes for everywhere.

We also talked about the old days which Rahim's father remembered and which Rahim saw the last of. Thus the old market, in the center of the kampong and now in disuse, was formerly (say fifty years ago) a tremendous place. Praus from all over came up the river including those belonging to Chinese. And there were dancers (padjoge) and shows. Today there is a daily market (pasar) at Djongaya. Sungguminasa has a pasar two times a week. Rahim said that he thought most areas in this district had a five-day pasar week. I asked if maybe the trend toward large sized towns, better transportation, and modernization might not lead to a daily pasar instead of the rearrangement. Thus Makassar which was perhaps once a part of a ring, as it gradually became bigger and bigger, was now developing into one steady, daily pasar. This may have happened also with Djongaya. Sungguminasa, which is near Makassar, is half way, being a bit further off. He seemed to think that this was at least a possible idea.

We got on to classes, but I got nothing new, except for some details regarding marriage. I questioned if it were true that a lower man, for example, the descendent of a slave, could not marry a higher woman, but that the marriage in reverse was possible. A big business man who came there in a European blue shirt, fat and keen, said sure, anything went now. But an old man present, with a stringy beard, said no, no, impossible. It was taboo before and it is now. He added that

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[114] no priest would marry them (a check for Friedericy). This fellow added that you could run first to one priest and then to another, but it would be of no use. The business man yielded. But it is quite possible for a high man to marry a low woman. I told them about American Negroes and the inter-marriage rules in the United States. They listened carefully to the use of the "black man" term. Later, when our discussion worked around to Indonesia and to Indonesians in the United States, something interesting came out. They asked whether an Indonesian man in the United States could marry an American woman if he wanted to. I said yes, and they were impressed. Evidently they had heard about the color line (perhaps from the Japanese?). Then we went on to the slave question. I described the Bone practices, and they said yes there was plenty of slave discrimination and there were other poor folk here who worked for the richer ones, living in their houses. I was told that they refused to be called "slaves", though. They insisted that they were just "people". (Could I meet one?) The business man gave me a case. He said that he had many gardens and fields. In these fields were plenty of poor hangers-on, glad to get work. They live in small houses in the gardens, and the big fellow pays their taxes. They get their own food. When he gives a feast or has need of help in building a house or doing repair work they all come gladly. Thus it is a survival of feudalism on a small scale. He said that formerly when the Radja lived in a big house nearby (which I saw; he is now in exile in Rantepao with the Bone radja!), there were perhaps one hundred slaves living there. (I noticed plenty of folk living there now when I saw the house later. Who are they?) I asked whether all poor folk of hangers-on type were descendants of slaves. Rahim said that in a large part they were.

000 One thing about education: the business man asked if I could take his son with me to the United States for schooling. He said that maybe this would be quicker! I demurred, and told him to write the Institute for International Education in New York.

769 Then on to religion. Rahim agreed that there was much of the old belief in present practice, including information concerning the bissu and the dewata. He said that in the countryside people made offerings to the dewata in the rice fields, and that this was a kind of ancestor cult, because the dewata, in a sense, were ancestors.

126 I thought I got a lot more today, but perhaps it was more in the form of general impressions. I took photographs and the women were very proud. Also the children remained pests,

563 can they buy it. I took a photograph of the market
427 site.

764 Then we went to pekoeboeran, the cemetery, or at least
565 to one of them. There we noted one large cement Chinese
grave, and numerous native graves. I again took a photo-
graph. Saleh said that both men and women have two grave
stones or wooden posts. Most of those I saw were low and
small. Names and dates are carved on them, but are al-
most not readable. It is almost pathetic, as was the site
of a bier with painting and the undertaker's name (I suppose)
on the cloths around it. It was standing outside next to the
house near Saleh's. Here, an old man of about ninety died
last night and he is to be buried today. I was told that al-
though these grave stones are low (orang hamba) [literally
"slaves"], nobles have high ones.

472 Then we went to Liyu's other factory which is a com-
339 bination of brick and tile manufacturing. I took a photo-
graph there. He is a rather remarkable person. Together
his factories use eighty men.

326 Then we went to see the blacksmith shop. The smith is
463 an old man and they say that formerly he had a double
178 piston bellows, of the old style, such as is now found in the
782 Buginese country. Now, however, he uses a Makassar-
412 made single cylinder, double-action bellows, which is very
effective. I asked Saleh if the smith employs special prayers,
etc. He said that maybe the old man did, but that the young
ones do not. He also said that usually here at least one son
follows his father's trade. However, many young smiths
now go to work in Makassar rather than work in the shop
found in their own kampong.

Then we went to another smith's not far off. This be-
longed to the son of the old man. We saw a parang [large
knife] and a right angle scythe in rough form. The bellows
really worked. Then we went to the carpenter shop. Here
[322] everything is made, including wheels. The carpenter is a
student of the old bearded fellow.

164 Finally we went back to the house stopping first at the
743 leper asylum of Makassar which is in the kampong. (See map)
758 [Lost] The leper asylum is run by a stocky, tough, Swiss
Salvation Army nurse. The government built the asylum
and supports it. It is very clean and impressive. Unless
the lepers are in very bad shape, they live in bungalows.
These dwelling places are much better than native houses.
There are many children. The Swiss nurse said that the
children especially get leprosy, and that when children are
born in the colony they are taken from the parents who

that if you gave them money they would sit on your knee and if you dropped money down the front of their upper garment you could feel their breasts. This seemed very amusing to him.

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Saleh does well with the schedule, but answers the questions as briefly as possible, and in some cases the full meaning of his statements is not evident. But he got me on one thing. The translation he used of the schedule had given imigrasi for immigration. Saleh had looked this up in a little dictionary he had and there he found the strict meaning of immigration. He followed this, and gave information only on people from outside of the country, for example Chinese, Javans.

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Classes: I noted that Saleh had indicated on the map such class designations as bangsa hamba[slaves] and others as turunan radja [nobles]. The rest are commoners. The commoners have noble blood, but because of marriage, usually below, have dropped in class. This seems to be the great cause of dropping. As for the slaves, Saleh said there were plenty, years ago. They at one time constituted perhaps 50 per cent of the population. He said that, for example, if there were ten freemen in a house, ten slaves would be the usual number. His hadji father had plenty of slaves. There are two sorts: sossorang and dibuwang. They laughed to hear that I have such names in my notes. As they talked I could see that the two old men knew the family history of everyone. With ease, and quickly, they were able to say whether any given person was hamba or not. In one case, however, there was some discussion. It turned out that the person was half slave. Thus he was almost maradeka-[commoners, freemen]. They said that Saleh's family is maradeka badji and so is Rahim's.

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Education: Saleh said that Rahim's father had had to sell plenty in order to send him to school.

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Classes: When slaves became "free", many of them went to Makassar and other places. In fact, there was a general exodus of them. Thus many people, say in Makassar, are of slave origin. (As in an English city population which may be largely drawn from lower rural class when serfdom stopped, and this is so throughout Europe) As slavery went the wealth of the upper class decreased, because there was no longer a large labor force. This is at the bottom of the decline of the radja class, they said. Nearly all slaves went away. But some stayed on and they will be noted in the census. As for calling them hamba, they said that they get very angry if you do so. But there seems to be some difference as to

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000 Mission, Timor. He said that the Catholics have a great organization, and that they do not force Christianity. They do not try to change the habits and clothing of the people. They tell the natives to do as they wish, and change as they please. But the Protestants force changes in clothing, tell them that they are damned if they do not change, etc. On Flores, west of Endeh, the Jesuits have worked far up into the mountains. They had a printing press in Endeh. They also have model farms, including a dairy. They train and educate the young, for example, they have trained the best agricultural man in Timor. He is a native priest who was sent to Wageningen, and then on his return was put into the governmental service. He pays rich returns because he is in the intimate councils of the government and knows all about the radjas, etc. Thus, by clever work, the Catholics have gained much control. Timor is not so good, as it is more influenced by the Protestants. This, of course, is the opinion of van der Wetering (whose views I do not always trust, but he may have something here). He said the system of the Jesuits is that when they start a mission they get money for five years. After that it must be self-supporting. And according to him it usually is.

565 Balombaru: Classes existed (exist?) within the slave
567 group too, and it is not the usual hereditary as against new slave idea, but rather that a slave of a noble feels superior to a slave of a commoner, and all grades in between. Thus, as I suppose is the case with servants in England, if you are a maid of a duchess you feel superior to the maid of a baroness. Thus the class idea ramifies, and pangkat is the essence of the whole social functioning.

175 Balombaru: September 3, 1949. Fourth day: First I went
743 to the leprosarium to give my books to the nurse. She told me about some awful Javan atrocities after the Japanese defeat in Surabaya. They even shot into the hospital from trees. The idea seemed to her to be to kill all white people.
181 She [i.e., the head nurse at the Balombaru leper asylum--
621 Analyst] said that the natives have no initiative, though there
743 is more evidence of some form of initiative here than in Java. She divided the colony into three kampongs. Each with an elected kepala kampung. They come to her only if they cannot settle cases.

Again I had several men at the house, including a fairly high turunan radja. We went through about one half of the notes. I asked about the high percentage of unmarried women here and told them that the census reported that this was caused by the high prices. Saleh said no, the price was only f. 88 for upper classes and f. 20 for a slave. But I noted that he couldn't go to normal school because of the f. 65. But, he said, there are ways of getting around this price. For example, one might give a rice field or something in kind rather than money. He said the trouble was mainly in the higher class, as it was hard to find suitable mates. But if it is too difficult one can move down a peg for a mate, but the result then is that the children are of lower status or class. The upper class man said that Fredericy's [i.e., H.J. Friedericy, De Standen bij de Boengineezen en Makassaren--Analyst] estimate of 40 pure ana' patola in Goa was rather high. He said that now there is only one, a woman. I think he said that she is not married, but I am not sure. Saleh agreed that it is also possible to run off and thus have a lower price. He also said that there is no real marriage unless the price is paid. All the fussy details apply mainly to the upper classes. And there again I see the fault in the Dutch material. They write of the upper mostly. There is an absolute rule, a taboo, on a lower man marrying an upper woman [hypergamy]. Punishment for this was formerly death, by drowning. They agreed that this was looked upon as incest and as being sufficient cause of disaster for all. Such results as failure of the rice crop and so forth, might be expected. They put it that the mountains would refuse to send the rain. They laughed when I read from the notes that there was little divorce here because it was so hard to replace a wife. They seemed to agree that there was very little divorce. They said there was relatively little polygamy too, but the old sea captain has two wives now and has had many more. The two never lived together in polygamy now, he said, because they fight. Formerly, they could live in the same house. The present Radja of Goa has two wives.

Literacy: Saleh said to be careful regarding percentage figures on literacy. He said that everybody learns to read (or at least most people) Makassarese, and many learn to write it. It is taught in school, and also in the homes. Thus he might teach his wife if she were illiterate. He said that in the kampong 70 per cent of the people can read Makassarese and 30 per cent can write it. The figures are lower for Arabic and Roman letters. He has some figures in the material he gave me. He said that school children learn Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic.

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000 Roman, Makassarese, and Arabic. He³ knew of Latowa and

[538] La-Galigo [South Celebes epics]. I read much about the

• 565 classes from my notes and found that evidently Friedericy

114 is all right. He calls ana tjera, turunan radja, and there

567 are some in the kampong. He calls ana karaeng sala,

bangsawan, and there are some in the kampong. In the

maradeka class, tau badji, to which he says he belongs, are

ones with even a drop of noble blood in them. They are des-

cendants of nobles, but somewhat lower. It is very clear

that there are two kinds of slaves. He said that slaves even

look different. But he added their women are often prettier

than descendants of royalty. Then he said that royal women,

however, have a special look in their eyes. He agreed that

keeping out of the sun, not walking, eating better food, etc.

might cause much of the difference. However, he kept on

saying that he could tell the difference. I asked about the

women on horses and cushions who were never supposed to

touch the ground. He said that formerly that was the way it

was here, as it now is, for example, in Wadjo. He added

that the Arumpone from Goa who was put in Bone by the Dutch

in 1931 lived in a big house in the kampong. His family is

still there, including slaves. Evidently he is the one in exile.

565 Regarding exile, he said that now, if a lower man marries a

582 higher woman, the punishment is exile for five years. This

684 is the law (adat). They might be sent to Buton, Java, etc.

602 In exile the pair is separated. All agreed that the idea was

based on heaven descent. But the upper class man was

impatient with this. He said that he was not too much for

it. Yet I noticed that he used manurung as a synonym for

"noble".

173 They all knew plenty about the old tales. They chorused

793 assent as I read. There was much talk about the gaukang.

838 They said they have two pinati to care for the Goa gaukang.

778 They knew the story of weighing the half necklace. They

178 said that the only other gaukang (the Hadji called them

gallarang) in Goa were those of the nine bate. Karawisi has

none. They said that there were many pinati, but that all

are men and wear regular clothes. There were homosexuals

and transvestites formerly. They said there were no pinati

in the kampong, but that in other kampongs there are a few.

They attend feasts. No longer is there any weighing of the

necklace [one of the gaukang (regalia) which was weighed

once a year to determine if it had changed weight. Loss in

weight was interpreted as bad omen for the country, gain

in weight foreshadowed welfare--Analyst]. I notice that they

mark all of their statements regarding Goa by mentioning

practices. the year 1905. That seems to mark the end of most of the old

1 [i.e., Saleh, the informant at Balombaru.

--Analyst]

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, and the like brought up further questions.

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circumcision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but but there is no feast for them.

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the outside they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including two leaders. They cost about f.50. Slaves cannot afford to have them at their feasts.

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had at least a little noble blood in them some place along the line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble. The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles and commoners is again evident.

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. [obligations reflecting respect for higher rank]

They all knew about the troubadours who also come to a feast.

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- 582 Regarding endogamy of the fishermen, they said my
463 notes were not correct, but agreed that they lived in separate
114 kampongs. Also, the sailors live in separate kampongs, but
226 again they said that it is not true about their being endogamous.
After all, however, Friedericy said merely that they had a
tendency toward endogamy.
- 326 It is not true that all smiths come from Sidenreng. I was
554 shown Makassarese knives and they said that only Makassarese
411 smiths could make them. They also showed me a fine kris.
They said that different kinds of krises also had pangkat, and
that men used types according to their own rank.
- 563 They said that there are no Badjo [Sea Gypsies] around here.
They live on islands.
- 463 There are plenty of potters here, or rather in Djongaya.
306 They are men as well as women.
- 286 There are basket makers here also. I saw one in the kam-
pong. There are also mat makers. And nearly all sarongs
are homemade. Spinning wheels are present but they are not
much in use. They did use them during the Japanese time,
and certainly know how to. Also there is not much use of dye,
but here too there is no lack of knowledge on the subject.
- 224 Deer hunting is not common here, but is carried on else-
where. They are interested in the Java--deer--import story.
- 346 Regarding the urn on top of the mosque, they said that it
177 was from an old radja cemetery. I will see the latter soon.
- 565 The old fellows knew all about the pre-1906 kasuwijang as
567 written up in Friedericy. They knew about the forty and six
sets of specialists in the old court. And they agreed about
the three ways of getting slaves in the old days. They said
that a man a little lower might marry a little higher, but
there would be much gossip on this matter if he did. They
agreed about the tawa-ana division in a slave-free, (wife-
husband) marriage.
- 685 They said that there was no cattle stealing here, but that
582 it was heard of in other regions. It was also known that in
some places girls will not marry a non-thief.
- 178 Regarding the taboo on yellow worn by non-royalty, they
565 said that this is no longer practiced. Still, however, they
292 could see the point and I got the impression that there may be
something to it. They added that gadu, a type of gauze sarong,
which is used at feasts by nobles and at marriage, can be used
by anyone. Saleh has a remarkable festive belt for a kris.
His father's photograph shows him in former years with it.
It is woven with the verses from the Koran.

House status marks: little is known about the rules concerned with the number of piles, but much is known about the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written in Friedericy. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew most of the names and events in the legends of origin, including the details regarding seven *oro* or black men. Regarding marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they may go where they choose.

Feasts: there seems to have been a considerable decline in the Makassarese custom such as the presence of the *pakarena*, as more and more Javan, Bali, and other practices came in. For example, one of the men said that they were having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they are more interesting?

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one, Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparsi Kallonna.

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is only about three kilometers from here. I will go there tomorrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for invulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there is no longer any water there.

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was really a different language. They imitated it and laughed. They agreed on my information concerning the writing.

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day.

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000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

262 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much
273 maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone pre-
ferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horse-
689 meat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (for-
411 merly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used
857 in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

351 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are
342 mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was
764 shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

287 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the
291 Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the
411 old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As
505 for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone.
304 However, they did know about the European screw habit, and
881 showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls' ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say
842 there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut
574 at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

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TRADES OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS (cont'd)				
	1	2	3	Total
Manufacturing worker	-	1	1	2
Cycle repairer	-	1	1	2
Fish seller	1	-	-	1
Bamboo dealer	1	-	-	1
Atap roofer	-	-	1	1
Weaver	-	-	1	1
Coachman	-	-	1	1
Dyer	-	-	1	1
Kalker [i.e., chalkers--Analyst]	-	-	1	1
Not given	7	1	4	12
Total	51	13	49	113 [sic]

[565]

	Daeng	Not Daeng	Total
1.	54	233	287 (20%)
2.	-	60	60 (0%)
3.	21	234	255 (9%)
Total	75	527	602 (12%)

Of Goldsmiths, Daeng are:

	Goldsmiths	Daeng
1.	34	24
2.	1	-
3.	2	1
Total	37	25 (70%)

	Non-Goldsmiths	Daeng
1.	17	3
2.	12	-
3.	47	13
Total	76	16 (21%)

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366 I left for Bone on Monday, September 5, 1949. However, I had to stay at Pampanua for one night as there was no room in Watampone. It is a small place with a large alunlun. There is a big market here which is held five days a week. It is also the place where the radjas of Bone, Wadjo and Soppeng meet for conferences. In addition it is the place where the assistant resident used to stay. I got the idea as I walked in the evening that this place shows mostly still life. I noticed mainly men walking and standing in the stores. The next day I went to Bone, where I had a conference with Andi. There was nothing to do until the next day.

As for changes in political organization in the area during the last fifty years, there has evidently not been very much in the kampong or in the wanua, although perhaps the Dutch made the kampongs larger by combining several under one kepala kampong. The number of wanua evidently did not change. The old organization of Bone was as follows. At the bottom below the earth line were the people at large, the rakyat together with their kepala kampong, who, however, might be a noble too. Above the earth line in the heaven realm (so considered) were first of all the thirty-one kepala wanua, and then above them were the seven princes and above them the two tomakaka, one the tomakaka lolo and one the tomakaka tua together with the makadangetawa who was concerned mainly with foreign affairs. Finally at the top was the [radja] with his right hand man, the punggawa, as head of the army. Orders from the radja to the people went via the tomakaka tua to the seven princes, then to the kepala wanua concerned, and thence to the kepala kampong and thus to the people. Requests from the latter to the kepala kampong then went up to the kepala wanua concerned and thence to the seven princes and then to the tomakaka lolo and finally to the radja. However if a person were a noble he might take his requests directly to the radja and the latter in return might give more direct orders. As in Goa, nobles formerly scorned a lowly job. But at the wanua level they must always be nobles. There is some change noticeable today in that they have only one tomarilalang. It runs something like this today: at the top is still the radja together with the makadangetawa who is now concerned only with internal affairs and below the radja is this one tomarilalang and then come the seven princes or the Aru Pitu each representing a department of the government (but at present one office, that of Aru Udjung [probably the last (in rank?) of seven aru--Analyst] is vacant), then come the thirty-one kepala wanua as before and below the earth line the rakyat also unchanged.

Formerly (now too?), when a noble made a request to the radja, he first made his request to the tomarilalang and together they made the request to the radja.

As for the names of the classes arranged in descending order they are as follows: first the six noble classes known collectively as bangsawan or ana ma'padjung.

1. patola
2. tjera - tjitjing
3. tjera - dua
4. tjera - tiga
5. tjera - empat
6. tjera - lima

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565 Then there are four classes known together as merdeka, that is freemen.

7. tjera - anam
8. tjera - tudju
9. now no more
10. also now no more

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[567] Then from eleven on there are many kinds of slaves known as ata or hamba. And, slaves might have slaves! Thus there is rank even among the slaves.

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565 The terms of address are: for radja, petah; and this term
554 is used down to the fourth class of nobles, that of the tjera-tiga. For the fifth class, that is tjera-ampat, the term daeng is used and for the sixth class of nobles, that of the tjera-lima, the term pua. However, he said there was much variation, and that petah is used even among commoners. He said that the situation is even worse in the Makassarese area, where daeng, he said, means nothing any more as many people without particular rank in the noble classes use it. In the kampong there are three subdivisions known as kampong ketjil: Bukaka, Tolangi, and Walena. There are four assistants known as seriang: three in Bukaka and one in Walena. There are five representatives known as wakil. They are like police.

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631 I asked about the whole structure of the East Indonesian
624 government and his uncertain statements went something like
625 this: First is the negara [state, i. e., of East Indonesia]. The president is Sukawati, the premier, Anak Agung. There is then the Senate.

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[635] Second, there is the Daerah Sulawesi Selatan [District of South Celebes], at the head of which is the Ketua hadat tinggi (Arumpone). Then comes the Hadat tinggi comprised of fifteen radjas. From these a working committee of five members is formed. And finally there is the Dewan Sulawesi Setatan [South Celebes Council] consisting of four representatives from Bone.

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[634] Then there is the landschap [province], which makes the third division. The organization is as above and the Aru Pitu, the seven princes, are like a cabinet. They do not have a parliament yet but they have had elections and will soon sit. This body is called the Dewan Pertimbangan, consisting of twenty-one representatives.

The fourth cut is that of the wanua, with the thirty-one kepala wanua.

Finally, as the fifth division we have the kampong, headed by the kepala kampong and the assistant or seriang.

The new radja, chosen from [a certain] family, is selected

by the seven princes and the thirty-one kepala wanua. The new kepala wanua is chosen by the kepala kampong, and is also hereditary or in a hereditary line. The new kepala kampong is elected by all of the taxpayers, of whatever class. Formerly the kepala kampong was a hereditary position, but this is no longer so.

As for the priestly organization, there is the Kali or Kadi Bone. Under him there is a sjarat kali or kadi of which there are several. They are important in cases involving religion, for example, marriage, inheritance, etc. In each wanua there is an imam and Andi thinks that in each wanua there is a sjarat wanua. In each kampong there is a teacher, that is a guru (not a schoolteacher alone but a religious teacher), but no sjarat. For commoners, a case may be decided by the guru; but for nobles it must go to the Sjarat Kadi Bone.

There are evidently only a few nobles in Bukaka, but there are several descendants of radjas. I am not sure how far down they go. Probably tjera-ampat is the highest rank.

As for the influence of age and political change, there is evidently not very much of importance here because everything is so ridden with adat and heredity which is so important that age is merely a feature of accident. Again one sees the complete stagnation of this place.

As for magical power, Andi thought there was nothing stemming from the radja any more, but I know he is not telling me the truth. He fought hard on this, and finally agreed that magic is in aradjang [regalia, like Makassarrese gaukang. (footnote p. 61) --Analyst] and thence flows to the radja. He agreed that all believe in the magic of the aradjang. He said that the bissu especially are fearful of the radja. I could get nowhere with him on details concerning mana. He kept saying that I could meet the radja easily and that there were no magic ideas any more. But I am not convinced.

There are no changes in hereditary leadership as against elective leadership, except for the new not-yet-met council. There are no parties here and no one would dare discuss such things or he might be arrested. Andi even doubted that there would be parties in the future. He said that in regard to discussion of politics it was possible to engage in such conversations very quietly in houses, but that everywhere there is a certain amount of fear and no one is willing to talk publicly about it. As for the women, he knew that there were many of them in politics in Java and in the Toradja country but said that here it was simply impossible. As for the ideas of the horizon of political life, he said that outwardly there had

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to him to be shortsighted. However, nearly all other upper administrative elements here are against it. In Wadjo there are political parties but that seems to be because the administration is so rotten and the folk there are getting set for an eventual revolution. The Bone radja also has had bad experiences with leftish politicians in Makassar. They won't keep their word, and although he is a conservative, he keeps his word. Thus he is disgusted with politics. Nevertheless, he has a great deal of influence even with those who are relatively radical. When a blazing representative of the Republic here meets the Radja he gives him sembah [homage, respectful greeting with hands placed together on the forehead]. And this is true also in Makassar. But the new and radical politicians are also still caught in the web of the rigid adat of South Celebes. As for the exiled Arumpone, the Controleur said that if the Dutch were to leave, there is a good chance for a coup d'etat here, and in other places as well. He also agreed that if in the Republic, with freedom the radjas will suffer with a resultant political upsurge. As for the point that many of the people think that the Dutch and the radjas are working together, I get the impression that it is partly true, and the Dutch I meet constantly rationalize this by saying that all would fall apart here if the traditional custom law, the adat, which depends upon the ordered, ranked universe were to be suddenly abolished. But, says the Controleur, the people do not know how much the Dutch keep the radjas from excesses both diplomatically and behind the scenes. Still, he said that it is difficult now because the Dutch are only here as helpers and can work only through the radjas. In previous times if there was a bad fellow high up in the state, the Dutch could jail him. But now, for example in Wadjo, there are four of the highest officials who should be in jail. But this is simply "no go," and it is of no use anyway because the replacements would probably be just as bad. The Controleur went on to say that the distribution of cloth especially is on a graft basis, because it is in the hands of the rulers, lesser rulers, and the various kepala kampongs. This usually works out through their inflating the size of the family. For example, they will list a family as consisting of nine members when it really has only five. Then they will give out the ration for five members, keeping the surplus ration for four and selling it later to the Chinese.

Andi agreed that religion is very important here and that if there were parties, the Mohammedan party or parties would get much support. He also said that the relatively

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521 conservative PNI [Partai Nasional Indonesia, i.e., Indonesian National Party--Analyst] would get some support, but the more radical ones would not. He said that so far there was no political life here and so there is practically no friction between liberals and conservatives. Such divisions are simply not defined and everyone keeps still. If there is a person who returns from abroad, he knows that he must keep still, and that if he tells anything, it must be done in privacy and only to friends.

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178 As for education, there appears to have been little change during the last fifty years, and I believe their statements regarding this.

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178 There are said to be no rules regarding exogamy or endogamy, but formerly as now most marriages are within the kampong. The only rule is that which makes the Moham-medan marriage rite necessary. Of course there is very little, if any, marriage with non-Mohammedans, unless they are first converted. Andi did feel that perhaps there was more out-marriage than there was before, and in fact he said that it was very seldom the case previously. This seems to be largely a matter of distance, and the nearer kampongs are the source of greater inter-marriage than those which are further away. There is much less, indeed very little, marriage outside of the district, and very seldom indeed outside of Bone. There is much discussion about the size and number of members in various families in the kampong. Some families are so large that they spread widely and relatives can be found all over. The nobles especially know hundreds of their relatives and their genealogies are kept on lontar palm leaves. For example, this is true in Andi's case. The lower the class the less the spread of the known family and relatives. But even slaves have a knowledge of their relatives to distant degrees. Andi said that cousins to the third degree were well known and that there are many large

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171 families. Beyond that point knowledge decreases, but the Kepala kampong, for example, said that he knew perhaps two hundred relatives. Thus we see a combination of large families and a desire to keep in contact with one's relatives. This is perhaps the urge toward genealogy which is found all over Oceania. Marriage outside the tribe is rare. There are not many, if any, marriages with Makassarese here; but if there were it would be acceptable as they are also Mohammedian. As for the Toradja in Tolangi (and the Kepala kampong said there are other encysted kampongs of them all over), they

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Toradja 0811

are Mohammedan and are practically Buginese and so it is possible for the people here to marry their women. Marriages with Chinese are all right if they are Mohammedan. If they are not Mohammedan, Buginese girls may live with them without marriage rites, but such girls are practically disowned (note the difference from Java). Arabs are considered as good mates. There was one case of a Dutch controleur, Montel, who married a Buginese in Watumpone. He was a Mohammedan and there was a Mohammedan marriage rite. Several children resulted from this union and then there was a divorce. The girl is now the wife of a Buginese. As for the age of marriage, the average is said to be about fifteen for both the girl and the boy. Formerly the average was somewhat lower perhaps thirteen. It rises slowly. Child marriage is frequent, for example, at the ages of twelve, eleven, and even lower. In some cases of this sort consummation is deferred. There are also some who marry for the first time as late as thirty or thirty-five, even for women. But this is not usual. A number of women of the noble class especially never marry because they cannot find mates of the proper status. This holds much less, if at all, for the men, and for the lower classes seldom operates. If a girl is twenty and is still unmarried this is considered late. They prefer early marriage. There are no age grades. Families are greatly extended, but there are no clans. As for the status of women there has not been much if any change. I told them about Java and the Toradja and they knew a bit about that. Also, they were fascinated at the status of women in the United States. But here, they agreed, the women were really low and there is practically no rebellion. They thought that some change may come but there are no signs of much in this direction as yet. Andi did say that he noticed high status boys and girls walking to and from school together. This was formerly considered awful. However they do not walk very far from the school yard in this fashion. As for inter-class marriages, it is the usual story. If the woman was higher than the man, the man was killed anyway, and perhaps by means of a kris, in as much as there is no taboo on blood here yet. Evidently the woman was thrown into the sea. They agreed that it was a cause of disaster, for example, there would be no rain or no rice, and, in fact, it was like incest. They are very clear on the latter, as were the Makassarrese. I asked about the women's club here. I heard that the Radja does not like it and will not even call women by the term wanita. To him they are just prampaun. I said that I had

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342 On arrival [to attend a feast celebrating a child's birth--
574 Analyst] we found that the padjoge had gone by bus to the
852 feast house and so we went there. There they were with
565 much paraphernalia, costumes, and so forth, as they were
going to stay there for the six-day feast. They looked very
pretty. We went into the house, which was some walk from
the end of the road. In front of the house was a big porch. It
was really big. Here gatherings and feasts are held. Around
it is a crisscross bamboo lattice-like wall, and Andi's
brother said this could be used only by nobles. This rule
seems to hold, unlike the ramp and the decorated gable and
262 multiple roof. The Sulewatang and I ate kentang [potatoes],
751 and Andi ate rice. His brother served it, evidently an honor.
576 I think the manager of the resthouse who was with us told
271 Andi's brother that I didn't eat rice and being remarkably
politic, they fixed the "potatoes." Evidently there were no
potatoes, for they made them with eggs and vegetables. The
food was good and the water was colored pink, like mouth-
wash. Later I was told by an Englishman here that this is
a bark infusion (tannin) used to disinfect things. It is taste-
less.

535 Then the padjoge came in dressed in old style costumes.
533 Three were in red and four in black. And they were very
[292] pretty. Later on they will use real costumes and I will be
here then. They danced and sang. I noted the nasal unison
which I thought was very nice. The only accompaniment was
that of the drum. Andi's brother said that there were other
instruments but not for this type of dance. The songs were
largely erotic and of the pantun type. There are many kinds
and all are named. The repertory is large. They make up
new ones constantly. This is especially true of the teacher
and the drummer of the troupe. But the troupes are not set
and they consist of a more or less pick-up lot usually. But
there is evidently a tendency toward troupes. An old woman
teacher was in charge. She sat in front and scolded with signs
if the performance was not good. The drummer, beating with
535 both hands produced good and fancy rhythms. But the girls
567 [i. e., professional dancers--Analyst] were not dramatic. They
565 were absolutely dead-pan. Some appear as light complexioned,
others are powdered, and others are darker. One was very
young and pretty, about eleven years old. The others were
up to about twenty or twenty-five years old. Andi's brother
said that they can be a padjoge up until about twenty-five at
the outside. They are slaves, and so are the guru and the
drummer. They are owned by nobles. Only a few nobles have
troupes now. Three of these belong to the Sulewatang,

although he told me that they were "his people". He said that they had to do what he tells them. I asked if they would be there until Saturday, so that I could take a picture. He said that they had to stay a year if he told them to. They may not marry without their owner's consent. A man wanting one of them [i.e., professional dancers, padjoge --Analyst] must pay the owner perhaps f.500 or even as much as f.1,000. And even later, when they are no longer able to perform as padjoge, they still must get their owner's consent to marry. The man must pay their owner. All the money they make, and he mentioned the figure of f.100 a night, goes to their owner who gives them food, dress, and so forth. They work in the kitchen and do other similar tasks when not performing as padjoge. I am not clear as to whether or not they are prostitutes, but if so, the owner gets the money. Evidently they are not. To dance with them, or request a song, which lasts fifteen minutes, costs f.2. Two rather older men danced a lot, and the hand and foot movements were like the Javanese dancing except that there was more footwork. The girls would be a fine psychological study. They are absolute slaves, deadpan, and formerly they could not even raise their eyes. They are singing all of the time, sometimes with a leader and chorus arrangement, sometimes in unison. I stared fascinated at this vision of girls absolutely owned and mechanically doing their chores. Andi's brother said the girls like the job because it is easy. They get good clothes, rings and so forth. The radja's dancing girls are called padjaga, not padjoge, and their dances are evidently different. And they are not rented out for fees. One of them is a stunning prognathous type, with cushiony lips and cheeks, and with a fine figure; also powdered and with a dead-pan expression. One of them is older and rather fat and one is not good looking. Andi's brother said that this group is not a particularly pretty one. There were not very many people present [at a feast, celebrating the birth of a child--Analyst]. Around the house there were plenty of retainers and they were fantastically creeping about before the master and the old Sulewatang, who stalked around in a magnificent garb consisting of sarong, closed jackets and finely made hats. A mere wave of the hand, and a retainer came bent over to Andi's brother, and squatted in a very humble fashion, and then crept off to do what he had been ordered to. A mere call for cocoa water and it was brought immediately. This is the most medieval and feudal place I have ever seen. And those girls are the most dramatic examples, although the bent-over men are a good sign of this,

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574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still dancing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
576 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
431 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
567 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame
181 regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do
not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
[535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young.
The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty
ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They
obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring
in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
778 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said
to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women.
It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth
usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from
heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The
radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most
men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same
house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or
three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine
because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has
several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently
slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f. 88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
178 said the lowest price is about f. 12 and a commoner might pay
567 f. 22 or f. 44. They said they like to get more because they
were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price
goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master.
There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said
that the children follow the status of the father, but I think
he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I
don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say
that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684] sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man
[588] must be punished by five years of exile separate from her
husband.

562 school, they separate. Otherwise there would be trouble,
584 criticism, and shame. Andi says that when they see Dutch
883 manners the latter appear as very strange. He also re-
181 marked that the Ambonese here (many of them at the army
post) follow the Dutch way, the boys and girls being seen to-
gether. But the Buginese think this is awful, and say that
even the Ambonese look ashamed because the Buginese stare
at them. And the Buginese youth have not offered any re-
sistance yet. Here again we see the lifeless, stagnant quali-
ty of even the Buginese youth. There is no singing together.
There is no dancing together. There are no pantun con-
tests and the like.

521 As for the "proper" man or woman, they have ideas such
581 as being pretty, a good cook, etc., but they don't discuss
834 it. As for the women, he says that it is doubtful, though
possible, that they discuss the looks of men, etc., in pri-
vate. But he would be very ashamed to do it where he might
be heard (if he were a woman). They don't think of such
836 things, says Andi. As for pre-marital sex relations, he
848 says that it is almost non-existent among the women. Rarely,
562 there is the case of a bastard, but it causes a great scandal,
and the woman's reputation is ruined. No one would marry
her thereafter. As for the men, they are generally not
virgins, especially the nobles. This is because they may
get a slave or a commoner girl on the sly. But, it is empha-
sized, it must be on the sly, because this is not good. There
are evidently a fair number of easy women (widows, etc.?)
in the town, not in the kampong, and the boys use them too.

585 As for wedding rites, they have the nikah first and the
591 price is paid at that time. The women are not present. Then
182 the adat rite is held and for three days they stay in the bride's
house. After that they stay three days in the groom's house,
then returning to stay at the bride's house. If possible, the
man then tries to get his own house. Thus the presence of
matrilocality is clear and one can see the mix-up of this with
Mohammedan practice or perhaps there is an internal tenden-
cy toward patrilocality. This is the same as before. The
man is the head of the house, but it usually, or often, belongs
to the woman.

• 565 As for social classes, they say there has been little change,
567 except in the organization of Bone. There is little change in
178 the nobility. There is a clear existence of slavery although
all of the slaves are legally free. Formerly they could not
leave their master, but now they may. And many do. They
said that they go to other places and often lie about their past

and where they have come from. For example, they tell people that they were nobles where they came from. Here is a case of the "urban anonymity" concept. The power of movement appears to be like that of American Negroes.

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As for the outcast groups, they said that earlier there were kampongs which were used as sanctuaries for criminals. If one could get there he was safe, but he had to stay. They became the slaves of the radja. The kampong where they have the padjoge feast now, Salewangun, near Pampanua, is a merdeka kampong in this fashion, and the people remember it. The Sulewatang however says this is not true. In any event, the people are all right today. Other outcasts would be for example a woman who went to live with a Chinese, or a woman who married or had something to do with a man of lower status.

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As for social mobility, there is really none in a social sense except for the complicated system of rising in scale by marriage. But this is possible only on the female side. The social classes are set.

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As for economic mobility, there is plenty, or perhaps it would be better to say that there is some. There are many cases where low men, even slaves, make money and are able to use some of the symbols of uppers. For example, they may take to using certain decorative symbols on houses which were previously taboo. Andi said that they often have more wealth than the uppers. In politics, unlike Java, it is practically impossible for a man to rise up here, because all the good jobs are held by nobles. I told them about Truman and Lincoln. There was not much reaction. There are numerous symbols of rank. I see them as house, clothes, terms of address, and manners.

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In the old days houses were ranked by the number of gable flaps (none for slaves, two for an ordinary person, three for an upper commoner, four for a noble, and five restricted only to radjas). Now many people use three wrongly, and nothing is done about it. But no one, as yet, would wrongly use five or even four. Thus it is somewhat stable at present. As for the sapana, or ramp, many use it, but it is not the "real" type. This can be seen easily. The real type is wide and otherwise peculiar. Evidently in former times no one except the nobles could use any kind of ramp. As for carved wood decoration on the end of the ridge pole, this is now used illegally by many people. But evidently horns are not so used. Few of them are left anyway. And with changes in house styles all of this is going out. Andi said that it was once possible to tell a person's rank immediately by the

554 style of his house. One item has been retained more or less
565 rigidly, that is, the use of open work and crisscross fencing
531 (about four feet high) around the big front porch. This can
178 be used only by a noble. (Incidentally, a naga decoration
342 occurs on the ridge pole.)

292 As for dress, the draped gauze overgarment of the women,
565 in red or black, such as the padjoge wore, is not a sign of
554 being a noble as I thought, and evidently never was. The
178 songko of plaited material evidently can be used by a non-
822 noble, and indeed it is, since the Kepala kampung wears one.
However, if it has a gold border, only a noble may wear it.
In the old days ordinary men had to go without blouses, and
yellow was a privileged color to be worn only by high nobles.
Today, however, anyone may use yellow. Previously, only
nobles wore gold; now anyone can.

554 As for the titles and terms of address, I could not get a
576 clear explanation of these, but there certainly are some.
181 Thus petah seems to be quite high. However, there seem
to be alternates of all sorts. They call me paduka tuan, as
I notice the Assistant Resident addresses the Arumpone.
(This is an example of Buginese ceremoniousness. The Ma-
kassarese never use such a fancy title for me.)

195 As for special language used by different classes, they
said this was not so. However, I got the impression that the
vocabulary differs by class though perhaps this was former-
ly not the case.

576 As for manners, one can see the differences all over. This
565 was especially true at the padjoge feast. The retainers and
the subjects of the nobles practically creep around when ap-
proaching their superiors or when passing them. They
squat down fast and hold their hands folded on their lap and
remain with their eyes cast down as long as they talk with
them. They wait until they are asked a question. And
every answer is accompanied by a humble bow. When the
Kepala kampung meets me or says goodbye he holds our
right hands while holding his wrist with his left and bows way
over. I saw him meet the Sulewatang Tumurun and he knelt
on one knee and did the hand-holding procedure. At the
feast we were the uppers and thus we sat in chairs in the very
best place. The Kapala kampung and other common guests
sat in long rows on the floor along long cloths upon which
the food was placed. When the Sulewatang Tumurun asked
the Kepala kampung who was waiting in the car to come onto
the porch, he pointed to him indicating that he should sit in

576 a chair on the side wall and not at the center table with me
565 and the Sulewatang, even though there was a fourth chair
there! The complete etiquette of abasement is appropriate.
One other point of etiquette; a lower must call on a higher and
not vice versa. Thus the Kepala kampong was surprised when
I said I'd pick him up at his house for a trip.

829 As for ideas linked with class, the Kepala kampong agreed
565 that the commoners and slaves know that the nobles are from
heaven, and they have a word like tumanurung in Makassarese
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789 Andi finally agreed that they think that not only the radja
565 but all nobles have some magic power. The greatness or
778 smallness of this power depends on their relative rank. (And
it does not die with death, as is evidenced by the pilgrimages
to the graves of the royal, noble, and big-hadji dead).

565 As for marriage between classes, I have said enough about
582 this already. There is a taboo on a lower man marrying a
583 high woman, but vice versa is all right. And it is also all
right if the man is just a little lower. In Wadjo, it is easier,
and it is said that there is much (or I guess, some) marriage
between higher women and lower men. To compensate for
this, there is a higher price. The rule is so strong in Bone
that noble women may sometimes never get married, as for
example, Aru Pontjeng's daughter now (I can't understand
this; he is only tjera-dua, I hear). Evidently there is no
change in the rules of class endogamy.

565 We talked for a long while about the classes in general. I
582 found out that the Bone classes run a bit higher, class for
186 class, than those in Wadjo or in other places. Thus the Toma-
rilalang of Bone, although only tjera-tjitjing, is married to
a 100 per cent royal woman of Wadjo. This is the same, as
I remember, for the Aru Pontjeng, who is only tjera-dua. As
far as Andi could be definite, there would then be something
between the states. There are frequent marriages in the
noble class between the states, and thus it is something like
the European nobility again.

565 I went through the class system of Bone again, with this
197 result:

First, the royalty: 1. ana matola; 2. ana radjeng (with
much royal blood, descended from former radjas; one of
these can become a radja if necessary).

Second, the nobility: (and with each major descending
group there is a declining percentage of royal blood). 3. tjera
tjitjing (one of this class could never become a radja formerly,
but today the Arumpone is one); 4. tjera dua; 5. tjera tiga;

6. tjera empat; 7. tjera lima; 8 tjera anam (no longer present); 9. tjera tudju (no longer present). These terms from 4 through 9, look like Malay terms. The Buginese equivalents for the latter part of each of them are as follows: dua, telu, ɛppa, lima, ɛneng, pitu. The line between the nobility and the next group, that of the commoners, is very vague.

Third, the commoners: 10. to detjeng; 11. to samar.

Fourth, the slaves: 12. etc. (many kinds).

The term ana'apona ma'padjunge is merely the name for all nobility including members of the 100 per cent royalty.

As for the kampong and district nobility, they said that the usual thing is that the wanua nobility will run the gamut, but that in the kampong nobles are usually not of classes above tjera lima, and maybe the highest kampong noble may not belong to a rank above tjera empat. The wanua heads are mostly ana'apona ma'padjunge, but evidently need not be.

As for the magical power of nobles, I have already indicated the general trend. Andi thought over the kekuatan adjaib [miraculous power] beliefs and agrees that the ordinary folk here have the idea that all nobles have it, by degrees. I asked whether this was because they brought it with them from heaven, while the earth people, the commoners, may have their special magic too. (And also for the slaves? Maybe not, as they are, I think, outside the adat sphere and many are of Toradja origin anyway.) I did not get much reaction to this, but it would line up with the mythology and with the special roles of the commoner bissu in regard to the aradjang, and it would also be like the Toradja ritual indispensability of the slaves even, for example, to the extent that one such body must be in every niche grave. It would also tie in with the special position of the Sakai in Negri Sembilan; and with the tuan tanah ritual in the eastern islands.

In regard to the slaves, Denzo in Soppeng says that they are mostly descended from the Toradja, though some are descended from enslaved Buginese. Everyone knows that Toradja slaves were sold in the markets here 50 years ago.

As for religion, there has not been much change evidently, though I suspect that the pagan survivals have weakened a great deal. I see that it is mainly the old men who know the names of the various spirits, and Andi and his coevals do not know them. This may be partly modernization in general, but Mohammedanism undoubtedly has been important here. There are no Christians, except among the Chinese. There are no missions, but it is said that they could enter without any trouble (which I doubt, after talking with Denzo). They

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176 with ingenious gears, and two spools. It also has a circular
401 shutter in front, and is fantastically clever. The Sulewatang
403 and Andi both said it was a great pity that he had no training.
874 He is a fine lad. He had three rolls of old newsreels and
travel pictures and showed them after someone lent him a
few batteries. One of the films was broken. Evidently he
is called upon to show the same old films quite often and as
a result they are wearing out. I was quite impressed with
the Sulewatang's and Andi's strong statement regarding the
lack of schools for such men here. Later I told Thierens,
and he said he would see if he could not send the lad to Makas-
sar for training. His machine really works well. He even
has a wheel for a string arrangement if he gets a small
motor. It reminded me of the old man in Balombaru who had
made a match head cap pistol for his son and also a model
Makassarese prau, with a propeller, with an auxiliary motor
rigged up from an alarm clock. It could run over a hundred
meters. There is certainly technical skill here that could be
developed.

565 We left the party and the Sulewatang came with us to stay
574 at the local Sulewatang's house (Kepala wanua Tumurun,
431 which he was formerly). This lad, a young and quite bright
156 fellow, is his nephew. He was going to visit the Aru Tau in
Watumpone, where his wife had recently given birth to a
child. They evidently visit around with fellow nobles a lot,
and this takes up much of their time. I tried to bring the
Kepala kampong into the conversation at the Sulewatang
Tumurun's house, where he was sitting to one side. However,
the two uppers would not let me. They were uninterested in
the Kepala kampong. This peculiar disregard for any human
qualities in preference to rank is a pain to me. The old Sule-
watang asked me to show him United States currency. I was
sure he would want some for a souvenir. He asked me to
get him a nylon shirt from the United States. I think it is be-
cause he has always been used to asking for what he could get
for nothing from the poor people here. These nobles have
only to ask for things from the masses and the latter dare not
refuse (honor?).

696 Incidental: The Sulewatang said that the kampong where the
feast is being held was not a former fugitive kampong, as
Andi had told me. But at any rate they evidently had such
kampongs at one time as both of them knew about the matter.

that once in a while the military post brings in a film, but this is rare. Most of the folks do not get to see this. This is a very important item, and now I see why they seem to be so provincial. In this respect, they are behind the Buginese, who are avidly interested in the United States.

For the sacrifice of buffaloes, all family members contribute, and for the big feast the entire kampong makes some contribution, each person with his own assessment.

It is possible, they say, to tell the age of a house by its style. Papajungan demonstrated this, hitting the thing right on the nose. In order to get the age of the house he repeated a long genealogy on his fingers giving individual names. It came out to two hundred years. Every noble has a genealogy going back to the heaven people. At one time they showered down in various places like rain. The genealogies then started. Even slaves have genealogies.

The kampongs have sections, as in Makassar and Buginese country.

As for class differences, Lethe is a tomakaka, as is Palinggi. They are high. I gather that Papajungan is also high. He said that in the old days there were plenty of wars. His father, for example, fought against the Sangalla puang. He does not believe the story that the puang could stop a war by appearing (but maybe this is only in the Makale area). He said there was little dancing or music here, and saw a difference when we talked about Java and Bali. He said that they dance and sing at feasts, but that there is not much to it. I asked about the recitation of the old man (tominaa, priest, and not slave) at the maruk feast which I saw. He said that he would be asking the buffalo favors. Thus it seems that the buffalo to be sacrificed is a kind of messenger.

He said that various heavens showered down the nobles, who after descending intermarried at different places and this started things off. He said that the only incest taboos are between siblings, different generations, and between first cousins. Second cousins may marry, but a case is sometimes made out of this. Third cousins are all right. Incest causes the lack of rain, and so forth, and formerly the people caught living in such incestuous relationships were killed. But they have no exile rules or laws as in the Makassarese and Buginese areas. One case was interesting. In Kessu, only a few years ago an old woman who had been a slave in the Buginese area returned to the kampong and is still there. She had become a Mohammedan, but quickly reverted to Toradja religion.

Regarding Bone: I remember that the Kepala kampong said that another class-linked house matter was that of stones under the piles. In the early days only nobles, and no other could use stones. The rest had to sink their piles in the

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Now it is all right for others to use stones as is the case of his own house. In addition, only nobles were allowed to wear gold ornaments in former days. Papajungan knew little about tattooing although he understood what I meant.

He was interested in contraception and seemed impressed with my arguments for planned families. He is a smart lad and could get some place. He is very lively. He said that if he had a chance he would go to the United States at once.

Animals used as offerings at feasts are: buffaloes, pigs, dogs, and fowls.

In pre-war days there were perhaps two criminal cases per year in Rantepao. Now there are hundreds. Cases range from stealing and fraud through a number of other types, but usually do not involve murder. (Japanese influence on demoralization?)

Regarding schools: I notice that much time in the yard is spent standing at attention or standing in formation and in marching. When they march here, the boys are stripped to the waist. They march slowly with their arms swinging as do the British guards. Could this arm swinging be Japanese too? Anyway this is not an agreeable business. What is the use of it?

Regarding the graves: Papajungan said that the coffins in the cleft are of the people who are too poor to have a niche made for them. These coffins may belong even to nobles. Query: is van der Veen right in saying that there must be one slave per niche? Can slaves be placed in the niches without trouble?

As for the stones, Papajungan said that only the nobles can use them free. Commoners and slaves may use them if they pay a price to the nobles. But if they are poor, then they use wooden posts only. (This may be like the feast I saw on a distant hill near Rantepao where there were no stones.)

On the first day of the feast in Lempo I noticed that there were many men working at cutting palm branches. They were used for decorations of various types.

Papajungan says that until now in most places there has been an absolute taboo against slash-and-dibble, or dry agriculture (ladang). It is forbidden, and would ruin the wet rice fields. But there is also a taboo against planting corn or peanuts or anything else in a dry rice field after the harvest. However, Papajungan says that the taboo is just beginning to break down in the areas around the town and he hopes that it will continue to do so as they could get more

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793 There are not many
838 homosexual priests, but there are some. (Could this be an indication of Buginese influence, or is it from the common underlying base of both Buginese and Toradja culture?)
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565 In Rantepao they have many tumbang at the mabua. There
535 is a tumbang from each noble family.
527 Move to Watampone: I left Makale on September 21, and
C went to Watampone via Pangkadjene. I started work there,
117 but on Friday, September 23, at dusk, while returning from Cape Patiro I hit a stump and the jeep overturned throwing me out and cutting a gash many inches long in my scalp. I was knocked out but was soon taken to a house. People carried me to the office of the district kepala in the dark. This was several miles away. They carried me on a bamboo litter, and there was much blood. A party arrived with a doctor and I was taken to a hospital and stitched up. I was laid up for two weeks with a concussion. I am now writing on Wednesday, October 5, twelve days later, and seem to be all right. I hope to be able to leave here for Makassar on Sunday, October 9th.

Someone stole the spare tire and bracket from the jeep. It had evidently broken off on impact. This accident nearly finished me, and it made me miss the ship to Bima on September 30. I will now try to get the earliest ship going to either Bima or Ambon.

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125 Watampone: Starting September 22, I spent most of my time recovering from the accident.

Andi brought me the census and map, both of which are fair. The census is poor in one respect, that is, the number of slaves and other classes given is only good for the heads of households. I will try to get more accurate data on this before I leave from the Kepala kampong. Also, the census is not really a complete job, and I made a mistake to say only the heads of households. And the census is good only for one of the three parts of the kampong complex. The results, however, are given below.

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565 I talked a bit now and then with Andi and others. One
346 thing I noticed was that across from the pasanggrahan there is a middle school, which was the former palace of the radja, as can be seen from the five flaps on the gabled tin front. The regalia were kept in a side building (like a pavilion), which is at present the principal's office. The walls are very thick (I thought of the atomic buildings which have thick walls to keep powerful rays inside!). The present Radja had a house built across the plaza, and for the regalia, a bigger pavilion alongside.

The principal said that Buginese pupils are not bright. He said that the girls in particular are dumb. It is necessary to separate the boys and the girls at play because the boys are extremely obscene, especially the Radja's son, who, according to the principal, was a scoundrel anyway. The upper boys are especially bad with the girls. The lower boys act better. As the principal says, this is probably because most of the school girls are uppers and therefore the lower boys wouldn't dare fool around with them. This is in line with the most powerful of taboos. It seems that only upper girls go to his school, although there are many lower boys.

Andi says that the price [probably refers to bride price --Analyst] of an upper is usually f. 40 "plus one person." Now they do not give a slave, but use the same expression, and add f. 48 more to bring the total to f. 88. High ones may add on more if they wish. From my window I saw a noble going to work one morning. He was a big man wearing a seersucker suit and a gold bordered songko. Ten paces behind him was his man carrying a brief case, wearing a white shirt and pants and a velvet songko, with a kris stuck in his belt. This is a notable picture of mixture: suit, brief case, seersucker suit, songko, rank, office work, etc.

One night there was a big noise in the market place. The information office had sent a movie on erosion which is a big problem here. A big crowd gathered, but the Assistant Resident said that even the Arumpone, who sat next to him, did not understand the film. He kept asking what it all meant. This demonstrates that films must use local scenes and more understandable material in attacking such problems. It would be like trying to explain erosion to the United States farmers by showing pictures of Bone and rice.

Pasar Malam [Evening fair--Analyst] is held here for six days starting with Lebaran Hadji. This takes place in the pasar building. To get in one pays f. 0.50. The main form of entertainment is gambling, most of which consists of playing the Chinese button-counting game, with much wagering. There is a troupe of padjoge, but little dancing. The whole thing is dull and unimaginative, like the Buginese themselves. How different this is from the fine dancing I saw in the Batavia Pasar Malam.

I told Thierens about the relatively few children here. He asked a noble about this, who said it was because of the tremendous divorce rate here. He explained that after marriages are arranged the couple often separate after a very short time. Thus there is little chance to breed. Then too a man often refuses to give the suvat talak (divorce papers) and the woman cannot remarry.

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000 a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers)
586 and the woman cannot remarry. I asked Andi, and he said
153 it was true that there is much divorce in the town, but that
152 in the kampong there is relatively little. He agreed about
the divorce papers business. It is evidently a mark of the
awful jealousy on the part of the Buginese men. They won't
let the women go. Andi says that the women often do not
wish to remarry anyway; one man is enough. Thus even the
women seem to suffer from the dull brutality of the Buginese
men. Nevertheless, Andi insists that divorce is rare in
the kampong. I asked if there was much marriage with
• [505] lower women and Andi said yes. The reason seems to be
that it is easy to cast them aside if a man is an upper, but
if he marries an upper woman there may be much trouble
in getting free. The whole thing is so tied up with palaver
and arrangements that it is hard to dissolve easily.

Andi said that in order to make divorce proceedings final
they had to be pronounced three times (like immigration
papers). If this were done only once or twice, remarriage
is possible; but if thrice, this is not possible. A period of
one hundred days must elapse before remarriage.

178 Andi complained about the free ways of the educated
888 people here. They are beginning to feel that they can choose
584 their own mates. Evidently Andi thinks that obedience to
the elders in this respect is an "old virtue."

634 The formal transfer of the powers of the assistant resi-
541 dent to the local people will take place on October 7. They
642 will go to the Radja in this particular case. In direct areas,
the transfer goes to the local administration. Thierens said
that this will mean very little in this area except for the
formality, and the Radja here does not even wish to re-
ceive these powers. He is pro-Dutch anyway. I suspect,
too, that he fears too much independence as this may mean
further insecurity for his position. There are great prepa-
rations being made for this event at the present time. There
will be horse racing for two days, although this is evidently
a regular feature of the Lebaran Hadji time.

565 All nobles of whatever grade are ana'apona ma'padjunge.
This is merely a generic term. At the top are the
ana'matola, who are or were, for there are no more here
(though the expelled Radja is about ninety per cent), one
hundred per cent royal. Below them are the ana'radjeng,
descendants of cross marriages between ana'matola and
tjera tjitjing. There are various grades of these, depend-
ing on the percentage of royal blood. Then the various tjera
descend, formerly down to tudju. Now they go down only

to tjera lima. The Buginese names are: tjitjing, dua, telu, eppe, lima, eneng, and pitu. They have declining degrees of royal blood. Between the tjera lima and the to detjeng, the uppers of the kampong, the line is vague. The latter can usually drag up a bit of royal blood somewhere. Down to tjera eppe (ampat) they are real nobles. 565

Then we got onto the subject of the present Radja. Andi said that he should not be telling me what he was, but that since I wanted to know he would be very frank. Formerly a person of only tjitjing rank could not be a radja. In the really old days this ruling was held to in one hundred per cent of the cases. The present Radja, however, is only of tjitjing rank. The exiled one is ninety per cent ana'matola. This latter fellow is evidently the Goa man who was put in by the Dutch almost twenty years ago, and whom they kicked out after the war for some reason. I get the impression that a lot of gossip goes on about this situation and that the present Radja is well advised to stick close to the Dutch.

Then we talked about the big households of the nobles. Andi's father has thirty in his house, and Andi himself has seventeen. He complains about his inability to support all of them on his salary. I asked him why he does not throw them out. He said that this just isn't done and that a man is proud to have a lot of people in his house. They are mainly nephews, nieces, young siblings and siblings-in-law, and old folks. When the young ones marry, they usually set up their own house. He then asked, "Who would cook, keep house, care for the children, etc?" I commented that one Dutch woman with a babu can do all of this, and he wilted, saying that upper women here just are not that way. Here again we see the entanglement of adat and the "right thing to do." 592
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Andi said that the radja has many slaves. This is true of other nobles too. There are two kinds of slaves: (1) Those who freely admit that they are slaves, especially if they are slaves of real uppers, because they are usually proud of their masters. Of these there are not so many. (2) Those who get angry when their low origin is mentioned. 567

Thierens said that the Christian leader Denzo in Soppeng is being sent away. Despite his success in converting, Thierens continued, Denzo has been disgraced, because it was discovered that he was loose with women and that he has a girl in every kampong. Thus he has spoiled things 797
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797 for himself. Could this be a case of railroading? My
831 guess is that this kind of behavior would not be noticed if
he were not a Christian leader. I must ask Rahim.

162 [for author's comments on these census figures see
621 p. 198, category 116--Analyst]

STATISTICS FOR BUKAKA

565 A. Bukaka, a Buginese Kampong Adjoining Watampone

Total population	1960
Total households	270
Per household	7.26
Males	959
Females	1001
Sex ratio	96.0
Total children	1089 (male 548, female 541)
Minor children	792 (male 408, female 384)
Ratio of children to adult	1.25
Minor children to adult	0.68
Children per household	4.02
Minor children per house- hold	3.34

B. Class of Household Heads

To Detjeng (lower nobles)	46
To Samar (commoners)	194
(included are 14 entered as "unknown," but Andi says they are very probably all commoners)	

Slave	1
Chinese	10
Arab	14
Javanese	5
Total	270

162 C. Polygyny of Household Heads

Number of wives	Class	Trade
3 (2)	1 Arab	1 merchant
	1 noble	1 tailor
2 (8)	2 noble	2 smith
	2 Arab	1 merchant
	4 commoner	1 trader
		1 goldsmith
		1 chauffeur
		1 government em- ployee (mes- senger)
		1 toothmaker
Totals 10	10	10

D. Women Living Alone

Noble	Commoner	Arab	Children	Others in House	Trade	162 565
2			3	11	2 tailor	
		1	1	2	nil	
	1			3	"	
1		1	3	2	"	
			2		"	
	1		1		"	
1			5	2	"	
1			2	3	"	
	1		2	4	"	
1			1		potter	
	1		2		nil	
	1		4		"	
Totals 6	5	2	26	27		

Total number of women living alone: 13.

Andi says most of them work at weaving, sewing, and other home trades. Some have sawah and let them out to share-croppers.

E. Complete Listing of Trades by Classes

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Arab	Javan	Chinese	Total
Chief	1						1
Subchief		2	xl				3
Merchant	1	1		6		6	14
Tailor	5	5		1			11
Farmer	15	91					106
Cycle repairman		1				1	2
Shoemaker		1				1	2
Restauranteur						1	1
Government employee	3	14					17
Small trader	4	10		2			16
Watchmaker		1					1
Bus worker		3					3
Semi-skilled		1			1		2
Peddler	2	13			2		17
Poolroom				1			1
Coolie		9			1		10
Teacher	1	2					3
Police	2	2					4
Kampong judge	1						1
Toothmaker	1					1	2
Chauffeur	3	10		1			14

162 E. Complete Listing of Trades by Classes (cont.)

565

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Arab	Javan	Chinese	Total
No occupation (all except 1 are women)	2	8		2			12
Bus owner	1						1
Laundryman		2					2
Goldsmith	1	2					3
Priest	1	1					2
Mosque officer		1					1
Storeclerk		2					2
Smith	1			1	1		3
Baker		1					1
Domestic servant		2					2
Barber		3					3
Tinsmith		1					1
Mason (stone)		1					1
Bikeshawman	1						1
Pensioner (soldier)		1					1
Potter	1						1
Carpenter		1					1
Hatter		1					1
Total							270

F. Combining Above

Farmer	106	Priest	2
Government employee	17	Store clerk	2
Peddler	17	Domestic servant	2
Small trader	16	Chief	1
Chauffeur	14	Restaurateur	1
Merchant	14	Poolroom owner	1
Tailor	11	Kampong judge	1
Coolie	10	Bus owner	1
Police	4	Mosque officer	1
Subchief	3	Baker	1
Bus worker	3	Tinsmith	1
Teacher	3	Stone mason	1
Goldsmith	3	Bikeshawman	1
Smith	3	Pensioner	1
Barber	3	Potter	1
Cycle repairer	2	Carpenter	1
		Hatter	1

F. Combining Above (cont.)

Shoemaker	2	Watch repairman	1
Semi-skilled	2	No occupation	12
Toothmaker	2		
Laundryman	2		

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G. Final Combining of Trade and Class (Household Heads)

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Arab	Javan	Chinese	Total
Farmer	15	91	-	-	-	-	106
Trader	7	23	-	2	2	-	34
Skilled	8	19	-	2	1	3	33
Government	6	18	-	-	-	-	24
Merchant	2	1	-	7	-	7	17
Laborer	-	15	-	-	2	-	17
Chauffeur	3	10	-	1	-	-	14
Kampong officer	3	4	1	-	-	-	8
Clerk	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Servant	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
None	2	9	-	2	-	-	13
Totals	46	194	1	14	5	10	270

H. Percentages of Above

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Arab	Javan	Chinese	Total
Farmer	33	47	-	-	-	-	39
Trader	15	12	-	14**	40	-	13
Skilled	17	10	-	14**	20	30	12
Government	13	9	-	-	-	-	9
Merchant	4	1*	-	50	-	70	6
Laborer	-	8	-	-	40	-	6
Chauffeur	7	5	-	7	-	-	5
Kampong officer	7	2	(100)	-	-	-	3
Clerk	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Servant	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
None	4	5	-	14**	-	-	5
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Less than 1 per cent

** Slightly more than 14 per cent.

I. Size of Household and Class

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Arab	Javan	Chinese	Total
20 or more	2	-	-	1	-	-	3
15-19	4	2	-	1	-	-	7
10-14	11	31	-	6	-	2	50
9 or less	29	161	1	6	5	8	210
Totals	46	194	1	14	5	10	270

Makassar 066
Sading 068
Celebes 061

M J. Percentages of Above

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	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Arab	Javan	Chinese	Total
20 or more	4	-	-	7	-	-	1
15-19	8	1	-	7	-	-	2
10-14	24	16	-	43	-	20	19
9 or less	64	83	100	43	100	80	78
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

K. Final Combining of Size of Household and Class

10 or more	17	33	0	8	0	2	60
9 or less	29	161	1	6	5	8	210

Percentages of Above

10 or more	37	17	0	57	0	20	22
9 or less	63	83	100	43	100	80	78
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

C. Then I tried to compare the three kampongs, Balombaru in the Makassarese area, Marante in the north, and Bukaka here. Much of the data, however, is not comparable.

L. Comparison of the Three Villages:

	Population	Male	Female	Sex Ratio	Per House
Balombaru	602	297	305	98	5.3
Marante	1262	628	634	99	5.1
Bukaka	1960	959	1001	96	7.3

	Child to Adult	Minor Child to Adult	Child to House	Minor Child to House
Balombaru	1.14	-	2.8	-
Marante	1.02	0.59	2.59	1.70
Bukaka	1.25	0.68	4.02	3.34

Main Trades

Balombaru	Craftsman, trader, farmer.
Marante	Farmer, village officer (and nothing else)
Bukaka	Farmer, trader, craftsman, government employee, merchant, laborer, chauffeur.

In the foregoing sections and the above comparison, the Buginese kampong can be seen to have a much wider range and more variety, in regard to occupation especially. Bukaka, however, is very close to a large town. Balombaru, the Makassarese kampong, is much farther from the city, and in addition is a kind of center for goldsmiths. It is a craftsmen's town par excellence. The Sading kampong is what it looks like, purely agricultural.

S. Sading: I had a long talk with the Controleur (Meendersma) of Mamasa, who had been also in Mamudju and Masamba. Thus he is acquainted with Mamasa, Mamudju, Rongkong, Seko, Seko Pada, and Galumpang. He said there are two Seko

541 On Friday, October 7, there was a big ceremony in the
634 hall. I went to the pasar malam twice, once with Andi. There
535 were some acrobats and a group of padjoge in elaborate
435 dress from Ulawan (on the road to Makassar), in addition to
533 the gambling. There were also a few flute players and singers
832 from Ulawan. They sat in a circle and played and sang near
505 the padjoge place. The songs were of the pantun type and are
evidently suggestive. I asked again about the padjoge, and
Andi stresses that they are not prostitutes. In fact, he seemed
shocked at the idea. He said this may be the case on the sly,
but it is not allowed. He said that the money they get is split,
80 per cent going to the master, and the rest divided between
their coach ("mother") and the male leader ("father"). For
their services a small amount is paid at the local pasar malam,
but if they are called to Makassar for the pasar malam they
may cost f. 3,000, which the city pays. In addition they get
gifts from the crown. There are, or were, court dancers too.
These were called padjaga. They were evidently uppers, not
slaves. This is similar to the Makassarese pakarena. Andi
says that only a few kampongs now have padjoge.

541 The races are somewhat boring. I went one day and sat
525 with the Arumpone. The horses are little, and so are the boys,
who ride them without saddles. All horses are evidently owned
by nobles, who do the betting. There are purses and prizes.

541 All members of the Hadat Tinggi were present at the cere-
728 mony of the surrender of powers. So were the representatives
642 of the parliament and the district chief and radjas from all over.
634 Also the poor Dutch. They started with the "Wilhelmus" played
in awful harmony by the local band; and then they played "Indo-
nesia Raya" which must have given the Dutch a pain. Then there

[537] were long speeches by President Sukawati, representatives of
various bodies, the Arumpone, and the Resident of South
Celebes. The best one was a speech made without notes by a
young wali of Makassar city (or perhaps Makassar district).
After lunch there were more speeches. I heard a lot of use of
the word democracy. This is notable inasmuch as this is a
completely undemocratic area. The word is magic. I re-
marked to a young noble from Soppeng that I also heard a great
deal in regard to zelfbestuur but nothing about volksbestuur.
And that is just about it. Who is the zelf?

The Hadat Tinggi sat in front and the ranking was: the
Arumpone, Goa (a colorless man, who gave a very short
speech at lunch; he may not be very happy), Luwu, Buton (a re-
markable man, small, fat, and old), and then the others in

Makassar 066

Toradja 0611

his status. The Kepala kampung repeated that there are many grades of slaves, and evidently the higher ones actually regard themselves as superior to ordinary commoners.

He said that formerly there were many more slaves here, but that many went away when greater freedom of movement was allowed. He added that in the kampongs near the towns there are fewer slaves than in the more remote areas. At one time a noble might have owned as many as a hundred or more slaves.

I quizzed him about the to detjeng. He said this was hard to explain because there were so many kinds. He agreed that the crucial point is that there is some noble blood involved. However, he said that one might use the term detjeng in reference to slaves; all this means literally is "good" (baik).

I asked about class intermarriage, and Andi said that marriage of a matola with a slave woman means that the child will be tjera tjitjing. Also, the marriage of a matola man with a commoner means that the child will be tjera tjitjing. He is not too clear about all this, and it certainly could stand some case research.

In the kampung of Tolangi there are supposed to be a number of Toradja descendants. I saw this section of Bukaka and noted that there were only about seven to eight houses. They are located near a mosque. The Kepala kampung said that the Toradja there try hard to assimilate into the Buginese group, and that they do not like to be called "To Tolangi." They try to move out of this section so that they can hide their Toradja origin. The older ones can still speak Toradja, but the younger ones are forgetting it and they try never to let it be heard (like immigrants in the United States). Today they intermarry with the Buginese. Andi said that there are plenty of Toradja people in Watampone, lots of them living near his house. They come from all over the Toradja country. By and large they are workers at rather poor jobs and do not mix in very much.

In talking about intermarriage I insisted that everyone has to know whether a person has a slave background or not. They agreed to this and said that marriages are watched carefully.

We went to a cemetery where there were two beehive cement and brick tombs just like the Kale Goa. Inside were the usual graves and on them were placed flowers. There was a smell of incense in the tomb. The Kepala kampung said that people make offerings and pray here. He said that the Chinese come here too. These graves are about two

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I boasting pattern in the United States and Indonesian culture .
635 He said that they will give their "platform" in incidental
668 speeches and on wall posters.

666 All of this is not too clear. Anyway, I see that Stefel,
like Riekerk, thinks that the "radical" tendency in elections
is encouraging. At least some Dutch officials seem to want
to have "radicalism" here. Stefel says that the absence of
political parties in general is a sign of political immaturity
only; they will come.

M Makassar, October 11, 1949: I had a talk with Rahim. He
304 showed me photographs of circumcision, with tooth filing and
565 hair cutting as well, taken in kampong Borongkaluku of dis-
881 trict Borolloe. This is under Gallarang, one of the nine bates
778 of Goa. This kampong is eighteen kilometers east of Makassar
852 on the way to Malino. In the pictures there were three chil-
535 dren being fixed, all of nobility. Two of them were girls, one
was a boy. Also their youthful lower-class followers par-
ticipated, wearing very elaborate, decorative dress too. Only
nobles can afford to have these great feasts. There is a big
procession, with people carrying all sorts of magical objects.
This goes to the holy stone of Songkolo' (there are only three
in all Goa), which is near Borongkaluku in the district of
Borolloe. The stone is in a fenced-in bamboo place, like the
stone at Kalé Goa. Here a man does a kris dance before an
open door of the flat stone sanctuary. A woman does a holy
dance in the same place. These are fine photographs. They
also show a mother having her first teeth filing. This is
done ceremonially only, with a gold ring. She has clamped
between her teeth a piece of wood. A fowl is being held by
the operator who smears the blood from it on her teeth. Then
there are photographs of the boy and the two girls (look to be
about 8 to 5 years old) being "filed". (Here again it is only
mock filing with a gold ring; after a few years they will get
the real filing with a stone). They also have pieces of wood
clamped in their teeth. Other photographs show these same
children getting their hair locks cut off. There is a wonder-
ful picture of a boy's penis being clamped and cut (super-
cision) and another showing the bloody scar on the top of the
penis. This is done with a steel knife. There is also a photo-
graph of one of the girls being cut, but her vulva is behind
a cloth sheet and the operator is working on it underneath,
so that from the picture one cannot see what is going on.
Another photograph shows the Mohammedan prayers being
offered at one side and a pagan stick offering on the other.

Also, in the procession there is a buffalo being led to the slaughter. The children, as well as the mother, have blood from a fowl smeared on their teeth. I am buying these photographs.

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I asked about the bate selapang or the nine electors of Goa. He said originally the core of Goa was located to one side of the Berang River (it flows by Balumbaru). Here, over each of the nine sections, ruled the nine chiefs. They were commoners and they conquered all the land on one side of the river. Then came the nobles from heaven, the tumanurung. The nine bate chose among them for the rulers of the conquered territory. They were called karaeng, and the districts here are called the bate karaeng. One of them became the radja of all Goa. Nevertheless, he was still chosen by the nine chiefs, who are known as the gallarang, and the Goa radja may not do anything important without consulting them (this is different from Bone, Rahim says, where the arumpone can do anything he wants on his own initiative). The nine bate sections are still in Goa and the various karaeng are descendants of the heavenones. This explains a difficult point.

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Rahim says, in regard to the aradjang, that there is a big pinati who cares for the aradjang or gaukang of Goa. He lives in the palace.

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Rahim says that women are freer in Buginese areas than they are in Makassar. This surprises me. He says that strange men can talk at once to Buginese women but that this is not so in Makassar. The Makassarese, he says, are more for the seclusion of women than are the former.

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The Dutch restored the Bone radja in 1931 and the Goa radja in 1933. The latter radja died in 1937, and the present one succeeded. After the war the Bone radja was one of the signers of the Merdeka proclamation of the South Celebes rulers asserting that they were now free and would no longer recognize Dutch rule. They evidently wanted to deal with the Republic. The Dutch, however, refused to accept them and the result was a bloody mess. The radja of Adjataparang (Pare Pare) was killed; Luwu was banished to Buton; and Bone (who was originally chosen from the Goa royal house in default of a high enough Bone man) was banished to Rantepao. (He is now in custody in Makassar.) The present Arumpone had been banished (to Buton?) when he was Aru Matjege because he was accused of having committed murder. However, the Dutch now took him back and made him radja! The proper Radja refused to agree to this move and pointed out that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime.

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000 that this was against adat inasmuch as he had been exiled for a capital crime.

369 I asked whether the interior regions of Makassar are as
181 backward and adat-ridden as the Buginese areas of Bone. Rahim says that he thinks so, and attributes the freeness of the ones I know to their proximity to the big city. He said there isn't much difference in the more remote places between Makassar and Buginese areas. He did stress, however, that there are character differences between the two groups which research might reveal.

304 They (used to?) cut a man seven times in supercision, and
171 this was according to adat. A little blood was drawn each time, and when this was done seven times, he was O.K. (this looks like the blood purging which Reed and Whiting talk about in New Guinea).

000 Balumbaru, October 12, 1949. I made my last trip to see Saleh and to get more information on class and trade. He had returned from a wedding at 4 A.M. and his wife was still there.

346 In talking about the urns on the mosques and at the tomb,
764 he said that he had heard from informed men that they had—
177 formerly been used for the cremated remains. He added
771 that the reason why Makassarese and Buginese people did not accept Hinduism was that they did not like cremation. Here's the folk reason, rationalized. I asked him about the incidence of divorce, and he said that there were very few in the kampong. He said that he knew of only one case in five years. As for polygamy, there are eight cases at present in the whole kampong, but in every case the other wife or wives live outside the kampong. Seven of these cases are those of nobles; the other is the rich man of the factory, a commoner, Liyu. He has taken a second wife. I got the full information on him, and also a map. I find that one thing I must get is the class of the kampong and mosque officials.

304 We went to kilometer 22, to Kalukuang and Limbung, to
881 see the last of a sunat [circumcision] feast, but it was over
• 565 and the dancers had gone. We met the father, however, a
343 young man and gallarang of the kampong. For this feast there had been constructed a special house known as a balugu. It had been made with criss-cross walls like the Pampanua birth feast place. The young man said that even this type of structure is being used today by non-nobles in Makassar, whereas in Buginese area this is still quite taboo. He also pointed out other rank symbols which are being used by non-nobles. I noticed that the house of the Goa radja, in
[342] Sungguminasa, was a yellow wood house with a walled place

behind where there were many houses for his many slaves. That house had horns on the gables. The sunat feast lasted six days and five buffaloes had been killed for food as well as many fowls. Many fancy cakes were served which had been left over from the feast. I saw the boy who had been cut and he is said to be thirteen, although he looked much younger. I asked about the repeated cutting, up to seven times, and Saleh said that this is usual. He looked wise at this moment, and sizing up the boy, said, "I think it isn't finished with this fellow and that he will have to be cut again!"

I asked about the gaugang, and they agreed that the radja and the nine bate must have them. As for the others, for example the karaeng, some have them and some do not; but formerly they must all have had them.

I asked about the charms, the djimat, and they said that there are still plenty being used in the kampong.

We finally drove to the seaside where there was a bathing beach and bath houses. They say that there are many Dutch who come here and pay a fee. It is owned by the local karaeng.

I had a talk with Emanuel, a student of van Voll, and ter Haar's former assistant. He looked like an Indo [i. e., Eurasian]. He is trying to get through a uniform marriage law for Christians in all of East Indonesia. He admitted that this is a difficult task because the families are so often mixed, and the settlement of property is likewise very confused.

I asked Emanuel about the divorce pronouncement by a man. He agreed that it was normal for a man to say it three times in order for it to become a full divorce. If it is said only once or twice the couple can remarry, but if it has been said three times it is final. He said, however, that there are two other forms in Indonesia (he said that ter Haar mentioned this). One form is when a woman gets a man to agree to give talak by offering him a settlement. This is in line with true Mohammedan law. The other kind is peculiar to Indonesia. It occurs when a woman complains to the judge that she has offered a man settlement for the requested talak, but the man has refused. The man is then called to the judge, and if he is still unwilling and all is in order, the judge himself may pronounce talak.

I had a talk with engineer Resink, who is here for the Economic Affairs Department. He is an "Indo" and talks about "us" Indonesians. I get the impression he is a radical

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000 style of 200 years ago. This must be an amazing place and I should go there some time.

I got the final data except for the class of the kampong officials on Balombaru, and the reckoned statistics are as follows:

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505 A. Balombaru

	Balom- baru	Bonto- tangnga	Sappa- bulo	Kalu- kuang	Balom- baru Utara	Total
Males	145	32	120	132	134	563
Females	142	28	132	157	127	586
Totals	287	60	252	289	261	1,149
Sex ratio	102.1	114.3	90.9	84.1	105.5	96.1
Houses	51	13	49	60	48	221
Per house	5.6	4.6	5.1	4.8	5.4	5.2
All children	157	27	150	140	134	608
Children per adult	1.21	0.82	1.47	0.94	1.06	1.12
Children per house	3.08	2.07	3.06	2.33	2.79	2.73
Children under 15	73	23	93	108	105	402
Children under 15 per adult	0.34	0.62	0.58	0.60	0.67	0.54
Children under 15 per house	1.43	1.76	1.90	1.80	2.19	1.82
Nobles	160	13	79	64	32	348
Commoners	110	37	173	205	181	706
Slaves	17	7	0	13	2	39
Javanese	0	3	0	7	0	10
Chinese	0	0	0	0	45	45
Toradja	0	0	0	0	1	1

B. Percentage of Population by Class [The numbers underlined appeared thus in the original notes--Analyst]

Nobles	56	22	31	22	12	30
Commoners	38	61	69	71	69	61
Slaves	6	12	0	5	1	3
Javanese	0	5	0	2	0	1
Chinese	0	0	0	0	17	4
Toradja	0	0	0	0	1*	1*
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100

*Less than 1 per cent.

Note that the Chinese may not buy land. All of them live in the stone (cement) houses beside the leveled market place. This is known as rumah sewa and is shown on the map. It is rented out by the radja.

The one Toradja is a woman married to a Chinaman.

Saleh pointed out that there are many cases of commoners using the title of daeng now. However, he has ignored them in this list of names because he knows that this is merely a pretension on their part.

C. Trade and Class

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Javanese	Chinese	Total
Goldsmith	30	19	1	-	-	50
Peddler-small trader	9	32	3	-	3	47
Merchant	2	2	-	-	-	13
Leather-worker	4	39	1	4	-	48
Smith	5	3	-	-	-	8
Industry	1	2	-	-	-	3
Carpenter	1	4	-	-	-	5
Farmer	2	13	-	-	-	15
Roofer-thatcher	1	5	-	-	-	6
Coolie	-	-	-	-	-	2
Cycle-repair	2	-	-	-	-	2
Weaver	-	2	-	-	-	2
Coach-bike-shaw	1	1	-	-	-	2
Dyer	-	1	-	-	-	1
Kalker	-	1	-	-	-	1
Government	1	1	-	-	-	2
Servant	-	1	-	-	-	1
Bamboodealer	1	-	-	-	-	1
Military	1	-	-	-	-	1
Clerk	-	2	-	-	-	2
Sailor	-	4	-	-	-	4
Sandman	1	3	-	-	-	4
Teacher	-	2	-	-	-	2
Barber	-	1	-	-	-	1
Teamster	-	1	-	-	-	1
Laundryman	-	1	-	-	-	1
Unknown	2	9	-	1	-	12
None	4	11	1	-	-	16

162 D. Trade and Class Combinations

	Noble	Commoner	Slave	Javanese	Chinese	Total
565 Skilled	44	75	2	4	-	125
Goldsmith	(30)	(19)	(1)	-	-	(50)
Leather	(4)	(39)	(1)	(4)	-	(48)
Other	(10)	(17)	-	-	-	(27)
Peddler	9	32	3	-	3	47
Farmer	2	13	-	-	-	15
Merchant	2	2	-	-	9	13
Unskilled	1	7	-	-	-	8
Sailor	-	4	-	-	-	4
Industry	1	2	-	-	-	3
Government	2	1	-	-	-	3
Coach-bike-shaw	1	1	-	-	-	2
Clerk	-	2	-	-	-	2
Teacher	-	2	-	-	-	2
Servant	-	1	-	-	-	1
None	4	11	1	-	-	16
Unknown	2	9	-	1	-	12
Totals	68	162	6	5	12	253

[595] Marriage Cases

8 cases of polygyny. All extra wives live outside the kampung. [i.e., Balombaru--Analyst]

7 cases involve noble men.

1 case is the case of a rich commoner, Liyu, the brick-tile-cement tycoon. He has made money, and now has a second wife.

E. Interclass Marriages: Aberrant (13)

M - Man

W - Woman

N - Noble

C - Commoner

S - Slave

	Ages	Trade	Number of case
NM-CW (11)	80-60	None	D 51
	70-60	Leather	E 17
	70-55	Goldsmith	A 9
	60-60	None	A 23
	60-57	Cycle repair	C 7
	60-40	Goldsmith	A 37
	60-24	Thatcher	E 13
	50-40	Leather	D 16
	35-30	Unknown	E 35
	30-25	Sandman	E-19
	25-18	Goldsmith	D-21

E. Interclass Marriages: Aberrant (13) (cont.)

	Ages	Trade	Number of case
NM-SW (2)	60-50	None	E 1
	30-30	Unknown	D 2
CM-SW (None)			

162
565

F. Interclass Marriages: Taboo Cases (3)

NW-CM (2)	40-45	Peddler	C 6
	20-25	Goldsmith	A 21
NW-SM (None)			
CW-SM (1)	70-85	None	D 4

G. Class of Children of Aberrant and Taboo Marriages

NM-CW	N	But before, commoner.
NM-SW	C	Before, same.
CM-SW		No cases.
NW-CM	C	Taboo before.
NW-SM		No cases.
CW-SM	C	But before, slave.

Formerly, in allowing a higher man to marry a lower woman, the rule was that children would be dropped one class. Now the same is done for a noble man marrying a slave woman, although the child of a noble man-common woman marriage is a commoner. There are no cases of a common man marrying a slave woman.

565
851
582

Formerly marriage between a lower man and a higher woman was taboo. Now such marriages result in the lowering by one class of the status of children resulting from such a marriage, if the man is a commoner and the woman a noble. However, the class of the children follows that of the higher parent if the man is a slave and the woman a commoner. The marriage of a slave man to a noble woman is evidently still taboo.

H. Sailors

Former	10
Still	4
Total	14

162

I. Moved into Kampong

From other Makassarese areas	61
From Buginese areas	2
From Java	5
Total	68

J. Working or Have Worked outside Kampong

In other Makassarese areas	7 (except sailors)
In other Celebes areas	0 (except in-migrants)
In Java	2
In Borneo	3
In Ambon	1
In other Moluccas	1
Total	14